

DYNAMICS OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN HARYANA DURING LATER MUGHAL PERIOD (1707-1857)

**A
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MAHARSHI DAYANAND UNIVERSITY, ROHTAK
FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF**

**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN
HISTORY**

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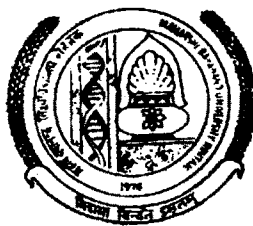
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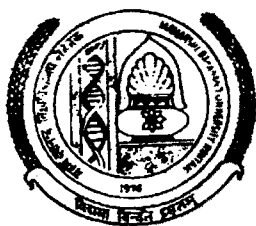
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Certificate

This is to certify that *Mrs. Kusum* has worked under my supervision and guidance, for her Ph.D. Thesis entitled "*Dynamics of Socio-Economic Conditions in Haryana During Later Mughal Period (1707-1857)*". Her thesis is original, complete and fit for submission.

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Declaration

This is to certify that the material embodied in the present work entitled "*Dynamics of Socio-Economic Conditions in Haryana During Later Mughal Period (1707-1857)*," is based on my original research work. It has not been submitted in part or full for any other diploma or degree of any University. My indebtedness to other works has been duly acknowledged at the relevant places.

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Kusum
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Preface

Haryana – one of the smallest states of the Indian union, came into existence as an independent political entity in 1966, as a result of bifurcation of erstwhile Punjab state. Though small in size, the region now forming Haryana state, historically, had been in focus all through the ages due to its geo-political strategic location and cultural importance. Historical evidences would bear testimony to the fact that the people of Haryana met the challenges of invaders heroically. The region remained a rendezvous of diverse races, cultures and faiths and contributed immensely to the Indian civilization. The region has passed through several vicissitudes and has been a witness to the rise and fall of republics and dynasties. But, unfortunately, region's history remained blurred. This was chiefly because of the fact that in all historical writings, the region was always treated as a sub-region or a sub-tract of Punjab or other larger region.

The present research work is designed to relate in a dispassionate and systematic manner the dynamics of socio-economic and other aspects of the life of the people of Haryana region during later Mughal period (1707-1857). This period which serves as a sub-period of Mughal history is chosen for the purpose of our study on account of several factors. This period remained an eventful period full of chaos, confusion and turbulence. This is the period when people of this region were in vortex of hostilities and suffered immensely, faced hardship, anarchy and agony at the hands of rulers and foreign invaders like Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Abdali. The period also saw the twilight of the crumbling of Mughal Empire and emergence and domination of British rule in the region of Haryana. Local powers of Jats, Ahirs, Sikhs, Rohillas and Marathas were also engaged in mutual rivalry and conflict in the region for supremacy turning the situation quite unstable during this period. Several feudal chiefs, *nawabs*, *rajas* and feudatories tried to set up independent and autonomous authority and principality for themselves in different parts of Haryana region. Social structure and culture during the period under study although not entirely new or radically different from the preceding period were constantly under great strain and pressure due to unsettled conditions and disequilibrium in the society. Whereas economic policies pursued by later Mughals had been imprudent,

British policies were exploitative based on colonial/commercial mode of production. All these events had far reaching influence on the socio-economic texture of the region.

The historians, however, did not focus much attention on this fascinating and variegated phase of Haryana history. The present study, therefore, attempts to fill up this gap. The study has been carried out on the basis of marshaling meticulously both published and unpublished records to provide a comprehensive and balanced picture of the issues concerning the society, rulers and the people. To present a cohesive look, the entire study has been divided into well-knit and well-integrated six chapters.

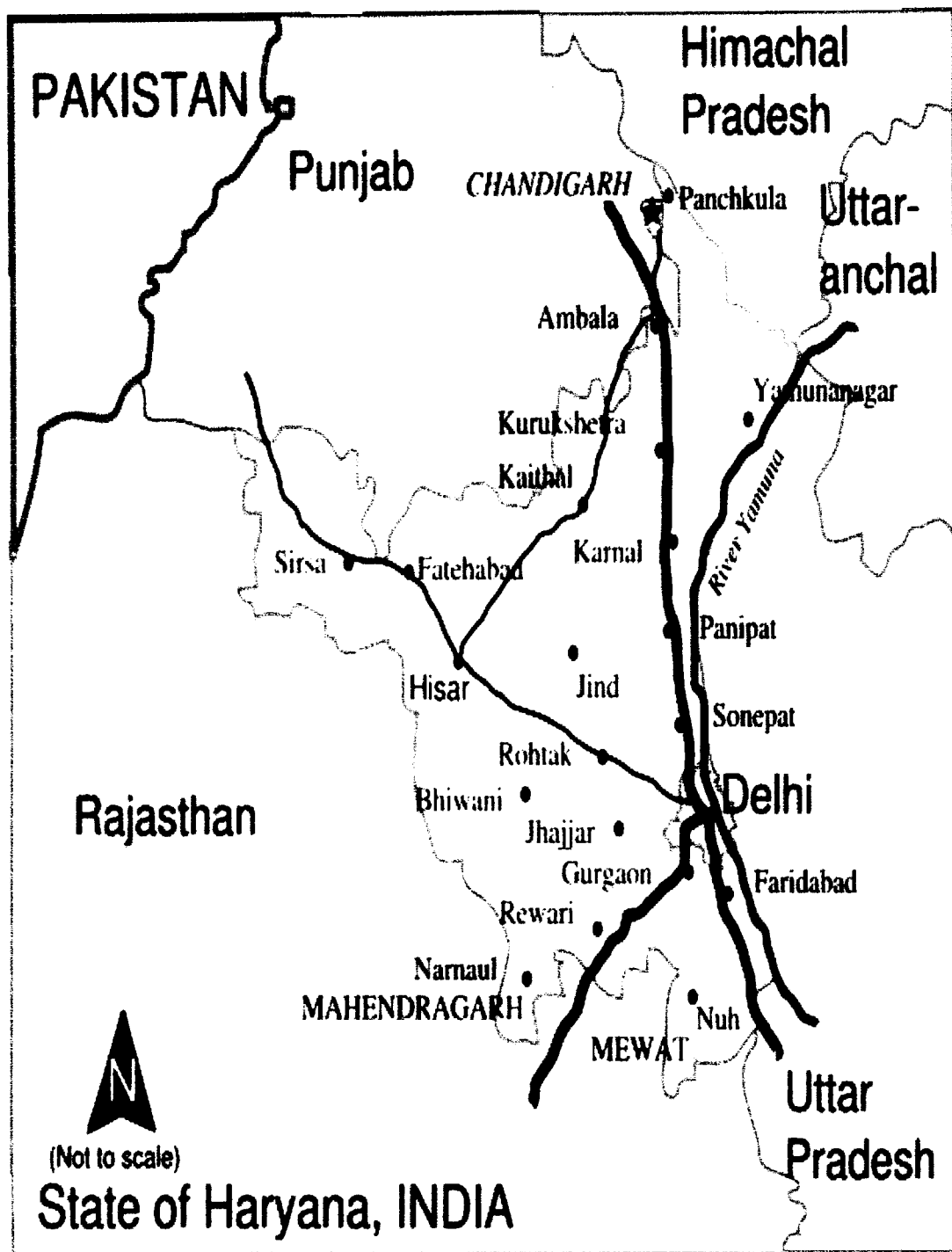
Chapter one is introductory in nature giving a brief account of the state of Haryana. It then spells out, through separate section, the important steps employed in the process of this research work. Chapter two provides critically a detailed political history of the region covering the entire period of study. Chapter three portrays vividly the social condition of the people under different heads. Chapter four is devoted to the discussion of economic conditions covering agriculture, industries, trade and commerce. Chapter five attempts to discuss the emergent religious realm, religious sects and movements that prevailed in the region. It also deals with architectural and artistic activities. Chapter sixth the last one presents a brief resume of the research work and details out more significant conclusions emerging from the study. At the end, an appendix and a selected bibliography have been added.

It is hoped that the present study would provide a perspective and a new outlook in viewing and understanding Haryana's history of this critical period, in full. This would also meet the ever growing demand and also the need of writing and reconstructing the regional history of the state of Haryana. The study is expected to be beneficial for the researchers, academicians and all others who are interested to know and understand Haryana's history of this long period of one hundred and fifty years which remained more or less obscure.

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CHAPTER – ONE



CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

Haryana, as an independent political entity, came into existence on 1st November, 1966 due to bifurcation of erstwhile Punjab state. Though significant historically, it is one of the smallest states of the Indian Union. It comprises about 1.34 per cent of the total geographical area and shares about 2.1 per cent population of the country¹. The region now comprising Haryana state has passed through various vicissitudes and upheavals since ancient times. Though small in size, Haryana had been in focus all through during ancient, medieval and now modern time. Politically, it remained strategic because of its location in the north. The foreign invaders from Afghanistan and Arabic world passed through this territory to reign Delhi. Several important towns falling in Haryana on the routes had to face the fury of these invaders. Haryana is the gateway to the prosperous Gangetic-valley system. Throughout the Sultanate and Mughal periods, the Haryana region acquired a strategic significance from trade and defence point of view. Mahabharata at Kurukshetra in ancient time, and three battles of Panipat, which completely changed the fortune of India, were fought in Haryana. This is the place from where Lord Krishna gave the message of *Bhagvadgita* to the humanity in the entire world. The saints and seers meditated on the banks of sacred river Sarasvati-that once flowed through the region, and composed famous epics, scriptures and treatises. Haryana made significant historical contribution to socio-economic-religious facets of the life of the people in the country. The hallowed land and its sturdy people have a rich and unparalleled heritage and mythological significance. Its impact on Indian history was still more pronounced as it being in the proximity of Delhi – the *sine sore* of all and that served a seat of power for kings and rulers of all hues since ancient times. The region has

witnessed the rise and fall of republics and dynasties. In fact, the place of Haryana region in country's polity remained just a place for 'heart' in one's body.

Despite the strategic location and the importance attached to the region, the region and its history remained neglected and blurred. It did not receive the attention of the historians that it deserved. It was only in recent years that historians (mainly belonging to this region) have initiated efforts to carve out and construct the history of the region. Haryana region remained neglected historically and never enjoyed the same historical status as Bengal or Punjab. This was largely because of the fact that Haryana was never an independent political entity as it exists today. Alternatively stated, it has never been a composite administrative unit known as Haryana state. It has always been considered as a sub-region or a sub-tract in historical writings. It was usually tagged either with Delhi, north-western province or Punjab. Even after India gained independence in 1947, Haryana remained neglected for quite sometime. It remained a part of the united Punjab and had always held a secondary position.

The present research work is designed to relate in a dispassionate and systematic manner the socio-economic conditions of the Haryana region during later Mughal period (1707-1857). It deals with events from those following the death of Aurangzeb to the first war of independence of freedom in 1857. This period serves as the twilight where Mughal and other local powers diminished and new order of East India Company emerged in a big way on the scene. This period, which is a sub-period of Mughal history, is chosen for the study as the period was full of turbulence on account of various reasons. The death of Aurangzeb in March 1707, was followed by a period of decline, confusion and disorder throughout northern India. And Haryana which is in the vicinity of Delhi, the seat of power could not escape it. Politically linked with the fortunes of the Mughal and British empires, Haryana was deeply affected by the changing order. The region had been the paradise of free looters and the people of this area had suffered heavily and faced severe hostile forces, hardships and agony during this period. It had become the looting ground for many including foreign adventures.

Aurangzeb left behind a host of serious problems in the region for his weak successors. The successors, who served as Emperors during later Mughal period, could not control the worsening situation in the region. Again, the third battle of Panipat fought in the region in 1761 remained inconclusive. It could not decide finally the fate of the people of Haryana. After the battle was over, though the Maratha melted and the Afghans returned, it left the field for the new masters, i.e., the Jats, Sikhs, the Rohillas, the Marathas and the Europeans who were engaged into the mutual rivalry and conflict in the region for supremacy, turning the situation quite unstable, full of chaos and anarchy. This all, the declining Mughal authority and internal rivalries of several outfits, the British started raising of new edifice out of ruins and by 1809, they had full control of Haryana territory. On December 30, 1803 Daulat Rao Sindia ceded the territory of Haryana to the British East India Company². Haryana was included in the Presidency of Bengal with a resident at Delhi to administer it. British continued to rule Haryana till India won her freedom from British yoke in 1947.

The ensuing analysis has been divided into three sections. Section I presents geo-physical division and other features of Haryana state. Section II explains the origin of the name of Haryana, its historical briefs from antiquity, Sultanate and early Mughal period up to Aurangzeb's death in 1707. Section III is devoted to describe the research process and the methodology employed in the conduct of the present study.

SECTION I

GEO PHYSICAL DIVISION AND OTHER FEATURES OF HARYANA STATE

Formation of Haryana State

Haryana region was aligned with Punjab in 1858 after the revolt of 1857 as a measure of punishment. Haryana region remained more or less neglected all through these years. Even after independence of India in 1947, the Punjab government did not pay adequate attention for its development. The hopes and aspirations of the people of Haryana region were not cared for by its elder

brother-Punjab, as they ought to have been in *sawraj*. The demand for separate state of Hayrana got currency. Meanwhile, the Sikhs also demanded separate Punjabi *Suba*. But the government as well as the Punjabi Hindus for their fear of being reduced to minority, opposed these demands. However, with the passage of time, the demand of the Punjabi speaking province became more pressing and intense. Haryana Vikas Committee, and a Parliamentary Committee, were appointed to study the division of Punjab. Parliamentary Committee, constituted in September 1965, recommended the establishment of a Hindi speaking state of Haryana. Ultimately, Haryana as the seventeenth state of the Indian Union was carved out of Punjab under the Punjab Reorganization Act, on November 1, 1966. This met the long cherished demand of both the parties viz., the Sikhs and the Hindus. And this is how Haryana was born.

Location :

With an area of 44, 212 sq. Kms., Haryana is one of the smallest states of the Indian Union. The state is situated in the north-western part of India between $27^{\circ}.39'$ and $30^{\circ}.55.5'$ north-latitude and longitude $74^{\circ}.27.8'$ and $77^{\circ}.36.5'$ east-longitude. The state is bounded by several states. The neighbouring states are: Himachal Pradesh in the north, Punjab in the west, Rajasthan in the south, and Uttar Pradesh in the east. Delhi lies to the east-south of the state. Several cities and towns of Haryana came under National Capital Region (NCR). Chandigarh, a union territory serves as the joint capital of Haryana and Punjab. At the time of reorganization, Haryana had only six districts namely, Gurgaon, Mahendergarh, Rohtak, Hisar, Karnal and Ambala which has increased to 20 districts by now.

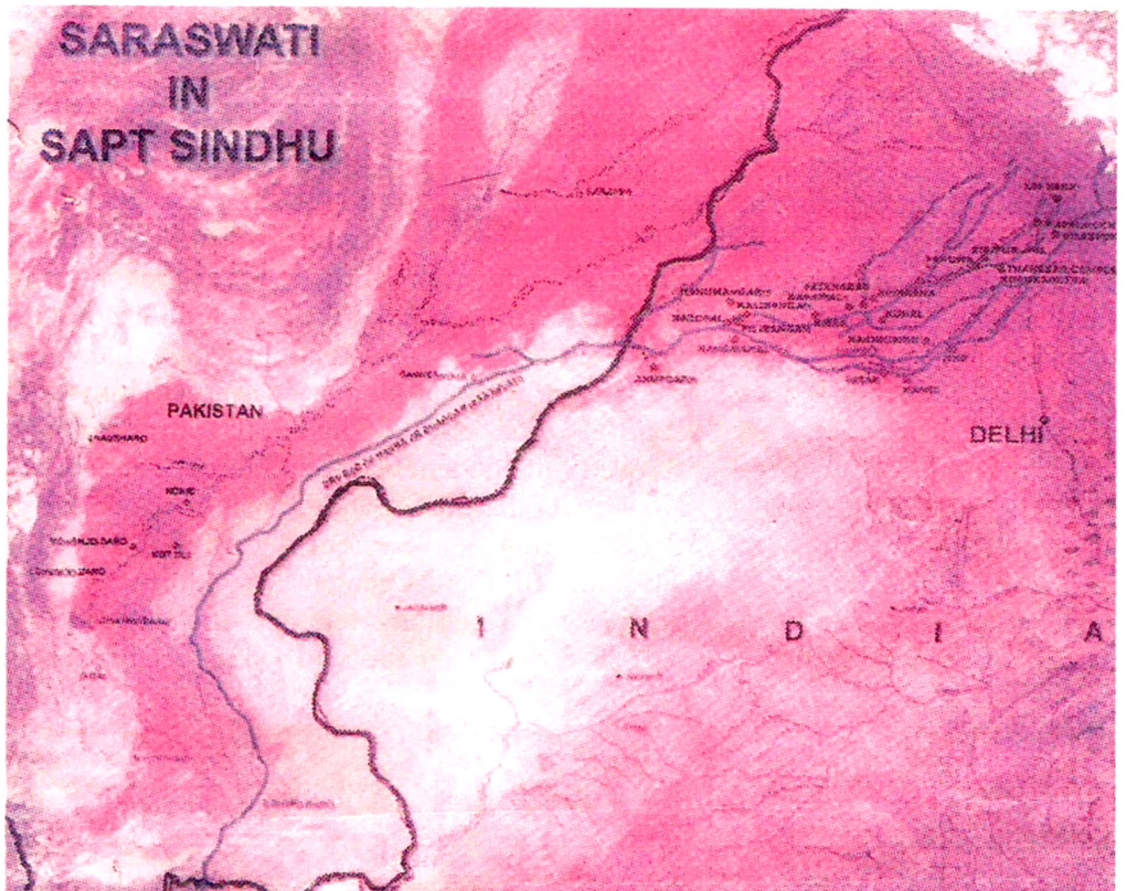
Geo-Physical Divisions

Haryana has complex and diverse physical features. The state broadly, falls into two broad divisions, namely the sub-Himalayan tract, and the Indo-Gangetic plain. The first tract is just like a girdle in the north-eastern parts of Panchkula district having two kinds of hills, the higher hills and the lower hills. The higher hills are known as Morni and Tipa ranges. The second broad natural division is Indo-Gangetic plain, which, in fact, is the total strength of the state, as

it is one of the most fertile areas in the country. It is a vast, level plain situated between the basin of rivers Indus and Ganga. The land imperceptibly slopes from north to south. This entire extensive plain is divided according to the texture of soil called as Babbar, Khaddar, Bangar, Bagar and Arravallis. The first subdivision, called Babbar, forms a fringe zone along the outer margin of the Shivaliks. The sub-division is quite sloppy. The second sub-division, the Khadar located lower to Babbar, is prone to flooding. Its deposits are mainly composed of sand, silt, mud and clay. The third sub-division, the Bangar, composed of alluvium is of about one to two million years old. The soil of this subdivision is not of good quality because of existence of calcareous concretions (*Kankar*) and saline and alkaline efflorescence (*reh or Kallar*) formations³. The fourth subdivision covering south-western parts of Haryana plain comprising the districts of Hisar, Sirsa, Bhiwani and Mahendergarh is a formation of sand dunes. The alluvium is covered by sand and the region presents a desert look. The only part useful for cultivation and crop production in the regions are where sand does not gather. The fifth subdivision is the southern most part of the state where a number of hills stand out against the horizon and break the natural regularity of the plains. The hills are the parts of the Delhi system of the Aravalli ranges and are called Alwar and Ajaibgarh series. These are perhaps the world's oldest mountain of significant size⁴. Here they take the form of low and isolated hillocks seldom rising 1800 feet above the sea level. The Arravalli range is formed of a narrow strip stretching 90 kilometers all along Haryana from south west to north west direction upto Delhi. The hills of the eastern Ferozepur-Jhirka and Rewari tehsils belong to the Ajaibgarh series and comprise the soft slates and subordinate bands of siliceous lime stones. The hills along the western border of the Ferozepur-Jhirka, Nuh tehsil and Mahendergarh district come under the Alwar series and are formed of quartzite, grit, conglomerate and lime stones. These physical characteristics tend to give rise to noticeable difference in the styles of living of people inhabiting these regions. These are reflected in their professions, customs, traditions, dialects and also in their general approach to life⁵.

Rivers and Streams

The Haryana region forming a part of Indo-Gangetic divide has been fed by several rivers and rivulets since ancient past. These rivers, obviously, have played a significant role in the socio-economic cultural and religious life of the people of Haryana. A number of such rivers find mention flowing through this region. In the northern part, there are four rivers viz; the Yamuna, the Sarasvati, Ghagar and Markanda. The Yamuna river is the life-line of the people of the region. It is only perennial river in Haryana. Rising from Tehri hills in Uttaranchal Pradesh, passing through high and awe uprising hills, it flows on the eastern boundary of Haryana and separates it from Uttar Pradesh. Entering the state in Ambala district in the north, it flows on through Kurukshetra, Karnal, Panipat, Sonapat and Faridabad districts. The Western Yamuna canal dug out of it from Tajewala, provides irrigation to the thirsty plains of Yamunanagar, Karnal, Hisar and Jind, and the Agra Canal to some part of Faridabad. The earliest reference of Yamuna is found in Rigveda, where it is referred to as one of the main rivers and its valley is described as famous for cattle and horses. It is estimated that it flowed westward in earlier times and was captured by the Indus system. Since then, the river changed its course to the present one and with the passage of time, due to changes and disturbances near its source it received greater volume of water and became perennial⁷. The state has no other perennial river. Of the non-perennial rivers, Ghaggar is one important rivulet. It rises from the outer Himalayas ranges between the Yamuna and Sutlej. It passes near Ambala and after a south-westerly course of about 110 Kms, chiefly through the Patiala district of Punjab, where it is joined by the united stream of the Sarasvati and Markanda and other numerous hills territories, which cross the Ambala district between the Yamuna and Sutlej, it bends to the west through Hisar district and goes to Bikaner division of Rajasthan where it finally is lost after traversing some 450 Kms from its source. In olden times, from the appearance of Ghaggar valley, it is evident that it had larger volume of water and was perhaps the Saryu of the Rigveda⁸.



Many sites in the basin of the now-submerged Saraswati, from Adi-Badri in Haryana to Dholavira in Gujarat, need to be excavated

The Sarasvati is another important non-perennial rivulet. The Sarasvati was the holiest and the most important river of the Rigvedic times flowing through Haryana region. In most of its course it has no defined bed. It can be identified with the modern Sarasvati which flows to the west of Thanesar and passes through Pehowa and Sirsa and then disappears in the desert of Rajasthan near Bhatner⁹. According to D.C Sircar, the Sarasvati river rose from the Sivalik ranges of the Himalayas and entered into the plains near Al-Badri in Ambala district. It disappeared, at once, at Chalur but reappeared at Bra Khera. It was further joined by Markanda at Urnali near Pehowa and the combined stream was still called Sarasvati. Ultimately, it merged into Ghaggar and finally disappeared at Vinasana near Sirsa¹⁰.

The Sarasvati of Rigveda, one of the seven great rivers, is still shrouded into mystery. Lot of controversy has been generated regarding its existence and water bed. In the Rigveda, several hymns have been written to glorify the river Sarasvati. The river described in the Rigveda as 'the most of rivers', 'the mother of rivers', the holy of the holies, the best of mothers, and even the best of goddesses. According to one view, the Sarasvati was joined by Sutlej and continued to flow as long river in the Sindh province near about the end of seventh century¹¹. Utali has referred to the Sarasvati as having its bed full of large stones and with precipitous bank and impetuous stream¹². All said and done, the imposing position of Sarasvati could not continue for long. Probably, some seismic disturbances, which occurred at the end of the Vedic age, changed the entire character and course of the river: It was reduced to the stature of a small monsoonic stream.

The Markanda is another rivulet in the vicinity of Ghaggar. It originates in the outer Himalayan ranges and, like the Sarasvati, flows across Ambala, Kurukshetra and Karnal districts as a rainy stream, unless it empties itself of its surplus water into the Sanisa Jheel where it joins the Sarasvati. It was perhaps Hariyupa in the ancient times¹³. It is distinct from the rest of the hill streams by its extensive flooding and by the heavy deposit of silt.

Besides these main rivers/streams of the north Haryana, there are also four mainstreams in the southern region of the state. These are : the Sahibi, the Dohan, the Kasavati and the Indore. The Sahibi river which is identified with the Rigveda Rasa is a powerful seasonal stream which rises about 150 Kms away in Jaipur and flows north-westwards passing through parts of Rewari, Pataudi and Jhajjar tehsils and parts of Gurgaon district, till it joins the Najafgarh Jheel and falls into the Yaumna through a channel. It is notorious stream as its fury brings enough floods and trails in southern parts of the state. The river Dohan also originates from the Jaipur hills. It is identified with the river Vadhusara as mentioned in Mahabhart¹⁴. After having flowed in Rajasthan territory some 29 Km, it enters Mahendergarh district where it is eventually lost. Kasavati also lies near Dohan. It also originates in the Jaipur hills. It enters the Mahendergarh district at Chaudhri-ka-Nangal, and after passing through Narnaul, Mahendergarh and Rewari tehsils for about 50 Km. it joins the Sahibi near Kasni. Indori rises near the old ruined city and fort of Indore, perched on the Mewat hills, west of the town of Nuh, in district Mewat. After a short run, it joins the Sahibi.

It is evident from above that with the exception of the Yamuna, all other rivers are rain-fed. During rainy season, they bring floods to different parts of Haryana and dry up with the end of Monsoon. Admittedly, during flood they bring lot of rich clay useful for the growth of luxuriant crops of wheat, gram and sugarcane. Besides, these also help to increase the water level along the beds of these rivers facilitating tubewell irrigation. However, the waters of these rivers need to be harnessed to meet the water scarcity particularly in southern parts of the state.

Climate

The climate of Haryana during most of the years is of a pronounced continental character: very hot in summer and markedly cold in winter. The mean maximum temperature recorded in the months of May and June touches to 49°C¹⁵. It drops below freezing point with severe frost in the months of December and January. Annual mean temperature does not exhibit any sharp differences among different parts of the state, being only slightly higher in south western regions

than in the north-central regions, the former largely being dry and sandy. There are two well marked seasons of rainfall in the state: (i) the monsoon rains lasting from beginning of July to middle of September, on which *kharif* crops and *rabi* sowing depend, and (ii) the winter rains in December and January, which materially affect the prosperity of *rabi* crops. Winter rains are scanty and chequered, these ranging between 10 centimeters in the north and merely 2 centimeters in the south. About 80 per cent of the overall rainfall falls during the first season. The average annual rainfall which is high in northern region would appear to lose much of its intensity as its travels towards south-western parts of the state.

Forests

As per ancient and medieval sources, the Haryana region was covered with green thick forests. In the tenth book of Rigveda, a whole hymn describes the forest (Aranyani) of the region in poetic language. The Vamuna Purana records the seven vanas of Haryana. It further states that Kamayaka forest, situated on the bank of river Sarasvati, was visited by the Pandavas. However, because of pressure of population on land, forests thinned down considerably with the passage of time. At present, the total area covered under forests is 6.6 per cent only¹⁶.

The Flora and Fauna

Haryana has been rich in its flora and fauna due to its rich and dense forests in ancient times. Various kinds of trees and vegetation and shrubs grew on the different parts of Haryana. But now due to climatic changes, shortage of water and water logging, trees and shrubs found grown in Haryana tract three decades ago, are fast vanishing and new species are cropping up. Due to pressure of population and intensive and extensive land cultivation, flora in Haryana has dwindled and some even vanished.

The region, as in flora, was also once rich in fauna. In old times, lions and tigers were not uncommon in the hilly tracts and forests of Ambala and some parts of Karnal, popularly known as Nardaka. The tract had special attention for the Mughal Emperors to hunt lion¹⁷. But now wild animals are fast disappearing

due to growing population, extensive cultivation, declined forests and barren land. It is to be noted that not much wild life now is found in Kurukshetra, Pehowa, Jind, Sirsa, Sonapat and Karnal districts. However Ambala district is still very rich in its wild life. Hyenas, panthers, wolves are commonly found in forests of the foot-hills here. Wild pigs and boars are found in the high reaches of Morni forests. The common fauna of Haryana region includes jackals, hares, doves, foxes, wild cats, nilgais which are found across the state. The domestic animals are : cow, buffalo, goat, sheep, donkey, horse, pig, dog etc. Almost all the varieties of reptiles found in northern region of India are seen here too. Many types of snakes are found here of which the Cobra and Karait are the most venomous. Yadav and Maleyvar have spotted 161 species of birds in the state which come under 47 families and 16 orders¹⁸. Peacock, partridges, quills, sand granses, pigeons, sparrows, crows, bayas, cuckoo, storkes, jungle babbler and parrots are the common birds of Haryana. Notably, vulture-a scavenger bird, is now almost extinct in Haryana. The number of domestic sparrows has also dwindled rapidly in recent years.

Minerals

Admittedly, Haryana is yet to be surveyed thoroughly for its mineral wealth. Some survey indicated that nearly six per cent of the state area possesses large volume of mineral wealth, which can be exploited commercially. For example, iron ores of low and medium grade in Dhanauta-Dhanchola, Antri-Chappara- Kamania and Shola areas in Mahendergarh are estimated to be around eight million tonnes. Again, area of Mothuka and Ghatasher villages in Mahendergarh contain copper ores. Excessive deposit of limestone, mica etc, occur about Golwa, Durga -Ka- Nangal near Narnaul. True asbestos, sheef- like small fibrous concentrations in bundles of termolite, has been reported near Nazir-Ka-Babh near Narnaul. Marble of good quality is found in the Antri Beharipur area and slate near Kund¹⁹. Medium quality sand stone is found in district Kaithal, Gurgaoan and Panchkula²⁰. While kankar and limestone is found at several places throughout the state, saltpetre is concentrated in Rohtak and Hisar. Potassium nitrate (*shora*) is available in Kurukshetra and Karnal.

Demography

Haryana is a small state in the north-western part of the country having 94 towns and 7064 villages. There live 2,11,44,564 persons in an area of 44,212 sq km. The state population accounts for 2.1 per cent of the Indian population and 1.44 per cent of the area. The state thus is more densely populated than the country as a whole. There are 815 females for 1000 of males giving an adverse sex-ratio as against national average of 861. According to 2001 census 71.1 per cent population lives in rural areas. . Hindus form an overwhelmingly majority accounting for 88.2 per cent of the state population, followed by Muslims sharing 5.8 per cent of it and are concentrated in Faridabad, Mewat and Gurgaon districts. Sikhs comprising 5.5 per cent of the state's population are largely concentrated in the districts of Kurukshetra, Karnal and Sirsa. Jains and Charistans account for 0.3 per cent and 0.1 per cent of the population of the state respectively. Nearly 20 percent population is comprised of scheduled castes. There is no scheduled tribes population in Haryana. The growth rate of population in Haryana is higher than that for the country as a whole at 21.35 per cent. In the 2001 census, 68.59 per cent of the population has been enumerated as literate- 79.25 per cent males and 56.31 per cent females. Despite having only two per cent population of the country, Haryana has 11 per cent of its residents in the armed forces which is remarkable. It may be mentioned that the population of Haryana region in 1803 was about 10 lakh. Out of which 70 per cent were Hindus, 25 per cent Muslims and 3-4 per cent Sikhs. It increased to 22,22,730 in 1855 and the population density was 212 per square mile²¹.

The Economy

The economy of the state is basically agrarian. About 80 per cent of the population depends on agriculture. The successful green revolution has made the economy prosperous. The state, with a surplus in foodgrains, is a major contributor to the central pool. Rice, wheat, gram, sugarcane, cotton, oilseeds are the major crops. With the opening of Sultej- Yamuma Link (SYL) canal, the agricultural activities in the state would get a further boost. The per capita per day availability of milk in Haryana is as high as 660 grams compared to the national

average of only 232 grams²². Haryana is rightly known as the 'Milk Bowl' of India. Dairying and cattle breeding have earned a distinctive place in supplementing the incomes of farmers and reducing the burden on agriculture.

Modern Haryana has developed a strong base for industrial infrastructure. Haryana produces the largest number of tractors in the country. Nearly 25 per cent bicycles, and one-third sanitary wares of the country's total are produced in Haryana. Similarly, Panipat, meets nearly 75 per cent requirement of blankets of the Indian army and has earned the reputation of being the 'weavers' city. It has an oil refinery and a petrochemical complex. Maruti Udyog, and Hero Honda, located in Gurgaon are prestigious industrial units. Faridabad is yet another important industrial city. Haryana has emerged as an important state in the export of computer softwares. It also makes 20 per cent of the total country's export of scientific instruments. The number of small and rural industries give employment to lakhs of persons. With more focused emphasis on Special Economic Zones(SEZ), economy would further improve. Haryana characterized as 'investment-friendly' and a peaceful state, is expected to draw huge domestic and foreign investment in times to come.

Haryana has the distinction of linking all villages with metalled roads and 100 per cent electrification. The state is also known for its achievement in tourism. Haryana which was a backward and undeveloped region on the eve of its creation in 1966, has made rapid progress in agriculture, industries and also service sector. Presently, Haryana's per capita income is the highest in the country. It ranks high among the states in terms of all the composite indices worked out by several scholars. This could be possible because of its very high score in material well-being of the people. The present growth scenario in the state has become a matter of envy for others.

SECTION II

HARYANA – A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Origin, Antiquity and Ancient Times

No one is sure as when and how Haryana acquired its name. Historians have attempted to explain its origin by various combinations of the half words

such as Har, Hari and Lana. To some, it reminds of the green forests (Haryalaban) which once characterized this part of the Indo-Gangetic plain. A. Seton also subscribes to this view²³. To others, it was the chariot (ayana) on Lord Indra (Har). According to one opinion it was the vehicle (ayana) of which Lord Mahavira (Har) rode, or it could possibly be the abode (Lana) of the Aryans (Haris). According to one view, the region owes its name to Raja Harishchandra. The word Haryana also signified a land which abounded in greenery and vegetation. One of its other names, Bahudhanyaka, occurring in the Mahabharata and on the coins, conveys exactly the same meaning. One view is that the word Haryana stems from the word Hari (slain) in allusion to a tradition of great slaughter of Kshatriyas by Parashu Ram on twenty one different occasions²⁴. According to Maharaj Kushana, a local scholar, this region was previously inhabited by robbers and dacoits and the name 'Haryana' actually came from the act of robbery (harana) on the part of these people²⁵. The settlement report of Hisar says that this name is derived from Hariban, a wild plant with which the area was formerly said to be overgrown²⁶. Girish Chander Avasthi traces its origin from Rigveda where Haryana is used as a qualifying adjective with the name of a King, Varuraja. This king, according to him, ruled over this tract, and, as such, the region came to be known as Haryana after him²⁷. In the opinion of Acharya Bhagvan Dev, this name has been derived from Har, the Lord Mahadeva, who was worshipped and is being worshipped even today enthusiastically, overwhelmingly, by the people of the area²⁸. According to Buddha Prakash, since this region was inhabited by the Abhiras during the post Mahabharata period, it came to be called after their name : Ablhirayana =Ahirayana : Hirayna = Hariyana. Hari Ram Gupta opions that this region being the earliest home of the Aryans was called Aryana or the abode of the Aryas,like Ludhiana, the region of the Lodhis, and Bhattiana, the home of Bhattis.

However, there is no consensus opinion on these divergent theses. It is to be admitted that all these views expressed above with reference to the word Haryana origin is based on conjectures. Under the circumstances, it is not

possible to exactly assert the genesis of its name. But it is certain that this region was inhabited long ago as per the archaeological evidences.

All said and done, it is an antique region with glorious past. About more than a century ago, archaeological explorations of this region were initiated. Sir Alexander Commingham²⁹ made the first attempt in this direction. He was followed by C.Rodgers, D.B.Spooner and many others. B.B. Lal efforts also merit attention. He was the first to give evidence for the pre-Budha history of the region with his discovery of the painted grey ware, a proto-historic ceramic industry of the first millennium BC at Kurukshetra, Pehowa, Amin, Panipat etc. This pottery belongs to Aryans of the Mahabarata period. Several tools belonging to stone age discovered from Pinjor, Chandigarh and Ferozepur Jhirka, prove the hoary antiquity of the human habitation in the region³⁰. It is worth mentioning that a proper exploration and excavation on scientific lines was undertaken for the first time by the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, Kurukshetra University. Udai Vir Singh, Suraj Bhan³¹, K.C.Yadav, S.R.Phogat, H.A. Phadke have done pioneer work in this respect. In the process, hundred of important sites have been found. These sites throw adequate lights on pre-historic period, Mahabhart, Harppan, late Harppan's (B.C. 2300-1700 BC) and medieval sites. These archaeological discoveries prove beyond doubt that the region was inhabited from very early times and was the centre of vigorous cultural and political activities. From these points of view of sequence and chronology, the excavation would prove useful in understanding the cultural development of the region. The material on cultural richness of the site can well be gauged from its surface collection, distinctive pottery remains, inland Harappan stone beads; terracotta, toy cart-frames, wheel, beads, triangular and oval cakes; and several examples of faience bangles. In the next phase of civilization of late Harappan culture (1700BC-1500BC), the items discovered in Mithathal in Hissar provided a clear stratigraphic evidence of the survival of the Harappan culture in north India. The material equipments of this period are discovered a glorie at Mithathal, Daultpur and Mirzapur. The remain of oval ovens, charred grains, grinding stones along with copper fish-hooks and base points suggest that hunting and

fishing supplemented the food supply of the people. Similarly, other items pertaining to building material, food, clothing material, bricks, cattle wealth, have been discovered from various places in this region. All these findings provide ample evidence that the settlement of this region is antique and hoary.

It is believed that Vedas were composed by seers, and *rishis* while meditating on the banks of Sarasvati, Drsadvati and the Yamuna that flowed through Haryana. The present Sarasvati is a mere shadow of its former self. The river seems to have dried up because of serious seismic disturbances towards the close of Vedic period. Due to above facts, the region gained considerable religious and historical importance. It, in fact, is known as a cradle of Indian civilization. The Sarasvati was the scene of the activities of the famous Vedic tribes – the Bharatas, the Purus and Kurus. The Vamana Puran, states that king Kuru ploughed the field of Kurukshetra with a golden ploughshare drawn by the Nandi of Lord Shiva and reclaimed an area of seven kosa. The Yamuna which passes through various cities of present Haryana is mentioned in the Mahabharata as a speedy big river falling into the sea. It finds mention in the Rigveda. The Mahabharata knows Haryana as the land of plentiful grains (*bahudhanyaka*) and immense riches (*Bahudhang*). The Mahabharata war, a battle between Pandav and Kaurav took place in the Kurukshetra region. Jyotisar is world famous place where Lord Krishna recited holy Bhagvatagita to the shaky Arjuna. This philosophy later became the foundation of Indian culture and thought. Gita occupies a special place in the life of our nation.

The Haryana region subsequently fell under the influence of Buddhism during the sixth century BC. It continued to hold its supremacy in rituals and ethical code of conduct. But with passage of time the political importance of Haryana declined. The Kuru realm had very little political influence in Buddha's time³², for the centre of political gravity had already shifted from Kurukshetra to Hastinapura and Magadha. During the fifth century BC, Panini, the renowned grammarian, mentions in his *Astadhyayi*, a number of towns of Haryana such as Kapisthala (Kaithal in Kurukshetra district), Sonaprastha (Sonapat) Rori (Rodi in Hisar district), Sarishaka (Sirsa) Gaudapiura (Gurgaon) etc. Then the

Yaudheyas, representing an old Indo-Iranian clan, rose up and repelled the rule of Kusans from the region between the Sutlaj and the Yamuna. Their coins and seals, found abundantly over the region, reveal that Sunet and Rohtak were their seats of power. Yaudhyas were marvellous martial race which faced the struggle with formidable rivals. Subsequently, in the first half of the fourth century, Chandergupta-I and Samudra Gupta reconstituted and consolidated the Magadhan empire and in that process annexed Haryana too. In the early life, Ashoka also passed through this region at the head of large army to pacify the rebellious people of Taxila. Not only that, Haryana as a stronghold of Ashoka administration, is confirmed by the edict, pillars at Hissar³³ and Thanesar³⁴. In his account of Su-lu-kin-na (Srughna or Sugh) Hiuen Tsang mentions Ashoka stupa containing sacred relics of Buddha and his disciples Sariputa and Mangalyayana. There is a detailed account of the location and importance of Ashoka stupa at Thanesar and some other places in Haryana.

After the fall of Maurayas, the region as it was a gateway of north India, the Huns, the Turks and Tughlaqs, Greek, invaded India and many decisive battles were fought on the soil of Haryana. But foreign rule in Haryana completely disappeared towards the beginning of the third century A.D. During the struggle for political power in northern India, there emerged a new dynasty founded by Pushpabhuti in Haryana. According to Harshacharita of Bana, Pushpa bhuti was the founder of the dynasty. Harishavardhana from his clan ascended the throne of Thanesar sometime in AD 606. During his reign, Thanesar was like heaven descended upon earth. The Harshacharita of Bana gives a vivid account of Harsh. Bana's account mentioned that Haryana was a region of plenty, people were dutiful and cared little for caste institutions. Hiuen Tsang, a Chinese traveller who visited Thanesar in AD 634 also gives a very fanciful account of this region. Harsha died in AD 647-48. The period from the death of Harsha to the establishment of the Turkish rule is significant not only for the early history of Haryana but also for the whole of northern India. In Haryana, it marked the dominance of three powerful dynasties – the Pratiharas, the Tomaras and the Chahamanas – whose history may be characterized as a history of successive

attempt at preserving the integrity and sanctity of the country against foreign invaders³⁵.

Sultanate Period- 1000-1526

It is to be noted that due to strategic geographical location of Haryana, it had to face several attacks from Muslim invaders who by hook and crook wanted to capture Delhi. This was a grim period in the history of India in general and of Haryana in particular. Delhi and Gangetic plains remained vulnerable and Mahmud raided Thanesar in 1011. Al-Biruni, who accompanied Mahmud in 1030 gives an illuminating description of Kurukshetra and Thanesar. During this period, a big part of Haryana was brought under Ghaznavi and Hansi was made the headquarter.

For a short, Prithviraja III became ruler of Haryana. He was very ambitious and after having gained his hold over Delhi and Haryana, his next move was to acquire the position of the supreme sovereign of northern India. After giving several defeats to Muhammad Gauri, Prithviraja was captured in second battle of Tarain in 1192 and murdered. This was a gloomy period not only for Haryana but the entire India. With the defeat of Prithviraja in this battle, the history of Haryana was marked by the destruction of its cities and temples, the killings, slavery and the subjection of its people. This was the beginning of the Sultanate in India which remained in power from 1206 to 1526.

Qutbuddin Aibak, who proved the ablest officers in the Tarain war sat on the throne of Delhi in June 1206. He pursued the policy of economic impoverishment and material suffering of the Hindus in a planned and calculated way. In fact, the Turkish Sultanate of Delhi became a system of political tyranny and economic exploitation of Hindus. For the proper defence and administration, Aibak shifted his capital to Lahore and set military posts at several places in Haryana like Hansi, Sirsa, Mewat, Rewari, Rohtak, Sonapat and Thanesar³⁶. Haryana mostly remained under the direct rule of the Sultanate, during almost 500 years which cover the period of the Delhi Sultanate. Haryana being very close to Delhi had to bear the brunt of atrocities and subjections of Sultanate empire as a result of frequent changes of dynasties till the coming of the Mughals on the

scene. It is significant to note that the invaders were never allowed to go unchallenged and the martial communities of this area : the Jats, the Rajputs and the Ahirs defied them at several places, more often. They offered stiff opposition to the invaders³⁷. A large number of Haryanvis sacrificed their lives while defending their soil Haryana's guerilla tactics of warfare caused much harassment to the Sultanate army³⁸. The Jats and Rajputs of Haryana also supported in the beginning the Raziya – a very intelligent lady who gained power, but later on opposed her and were even instrumental in bringing a tragic end to her short career³⁹. During his expedition, Taimur also invaded Sirsa, Tohana, Fathehbad, Sirsa, Tohana, Kaithal etc in 1398 with a formidable force. The people of this area such as Jats, Ahirs offered some resistance, but small in numbers and inferior in warfare to the Taimur's forces, they could only make supreme sacrifices in their attempt to defend their territory⁴⁰. The region economically was well off. Ibn-Batuta, the well-known Arab traveller, visited Haryana including Sirsa and Hansi during the times of Muhammad Tughlaq and described these for the excellent quality of rice which grew in abundance and was in great demand in the Delhi market⁴¹. By the close of fifteenth century, the Sultanate disintegrated and Delhi government was unsuccessful to exercise authority and control over a wide area. Then Babur succeeded at Panipat in Haryana in 1526 by defeating Ibrahim Lodhi and Haryana passed on to its new masters – the Mughals.

The Mughal Period- 1526-1707

History of Haryana during Mughal period had been quite eventful. Situated between Lahore and Delhi, Haryana region had been the scene of battles throughout the Mughal period. It was here at the battle field of Panipat in 1526 that Babur laid the foundation of Mughal Empire in India.

At the time of Babur's invasion, India was a divided house. Taking advantage of the chaotic conditions, Babur made a forceful attack on India in the last days of the year 1525 . He passed through Punjab without meeting any opposition, reached Ambala in the early part of 1526. From this place, Babur marched via Shahabad along the Yamuna near Alahar in tehsil Pipli and hence

followed the river bank to Karnal. After a short stay at Gharunda, Babur led his army to Panipat, which he selected for battle field⁴². On 21st April, 1526 AD, Ibrahim Lodhi's forces advanced to attack but they were utterly routed and were pursued by Babur's army to Delhi. The Afghan army, estimated about 100,000 men and about 1,000 elephants, consisted mostly of mercenaries much inferior to the Mughals in discipline, training and valour and their supreme commander Ibrahim, no match to Jahiruddin Babur in respect of organization, planning and military strategy. Ibrahim died a heroic death in the battle field.

Babur, undoubtedly, emerged very strong and occupied the throne of Hindustan by defeating Sultan Ibrahim Lodhi. But the people of Haryana did not submit to him weekly. Alternatively stated, his rule in Haryana did not go unchallenged. In 1529, the Mandhar Rajputs of the Nardak region in Haryana rebelled under their chief Mohan and defeated the local Mughal troops. Babur thereupon infuriated, attacked and killed hundreds of their 'rebels' and looted their villages⁴³.

For the smooth running of administration, Babur divided Haryana into four *sarkars* namely, Sirhind, Hissar-i-Firuzah, Delhi and Minat. These *sarkars* were a prosperous and cultivated tract of land as these generated considerable revenue to the Empire⁴⁴. After Babur's death (26 Dec. 1530), Humayun assumed the kingship of Hindustan and ruled for a decade till he was defeated and expelled from India by Sher Shah Suri (born in Narnaul) in 1540. Hemu – the commander of Adil Shah, who belonged to Rewari, occupied Agra and Delhi and marched towards Panipat to attack and destroy the Mughals. Akbar was reluctant to face Hemu but finally decided to fight him at the instance of Bairam Khan – the regent of Akbar. Hemu fought heroically and there was every possibility of his carrying the day when, unfortunately, an arrow struck his eye and he fell unconscious in the *howdah* of his elephant. His men took him to be dead and fled giving way to Akbar⁴⁵.

Akbar, the greatest of the Mughals, was averse to the people of this region because of their rebellious and independent disposition. In fact, he took delight in seeing them suffering. Evidences to this effect are furnished by

Nizamuddin in his book *Tahqat-i-Akbari* (1567 AD). Haryana enjoyed peace and prosperity under Jahangir and Shah Jahan. Jahangir's public welfare activities also benefited the people of Haryana. The number of *sarais*, *kos minars*, roads and wells were constructed, the shady trees were planted along the road sides in Haryana region. This was a period of relative peace in Haryana. It, however, appeared that despite public works, the frequent and devastating natural calamities continued to play havoc with the life of the people of this region. The *Safarnama* of Abdullah al Abbasi, one of the renowned scholars of Gujarat, is an important source for the history of Haryana during the first half of the seventeenth century A.D.⁴⁶. His itinerary from Sambhar to Ludhiana and from there back to Delhi via Sirhind covered a number of places in Haryana such as Narnaul, Hisar-i-Firuza, Meham, Kaithal, Jind, Thanesar, and Panipat. Latif, another scholar refers to the construction of buildings on the bank of Sannihit tank at Kurukshetra, ordered by Jahangir. Latif gave an elaborate description of Narnaul, which formed a part of Agra *Suba*. It was thickly populated. To Latif, Narnaul had no parallel on the earth. It occurred to him as if heaven descended upon earth.

But then Aurangzeb, unlike his predecessors did nothing significant for this region. He was hostile towards Mewatis and Satnamis because of their uprisings and also because the region was strongly attached to Dara. Aurangzeb, therefore, could not but follow a policy of repression towards this region. Because of this kind of conduct of Aurangzeb, by provoking discontent among the Hindus and other people of the area, hastened the collapse of the Mughal Empire. Among tyrannical and oppressive policy of intolerance did not end with the suppression of the Mewatis and the Satnamis. He also turned to the destruction of the sacred places of the region. Several temples were destroyed at Kurukshetra and a castle called Mughalpura was built in the midst of a lake from where Mughal soldiers could fire upon pilgrims, who came to bath there⁴⁷. The remains of the castle with pillars on four sides are still visible testifying to Aurangzeb's oppressive rule. The temples at Kurukshetra were built, reconstructed or renovated during Maratha's rule in Haryana.

SECTION – III

RESEARCH PROCESS

Through this section, we now proceed to discuss research process consisting of series of actions or steps necessary to effectively carry out research and the desired sequencing of these steps. These steps include need, rational or justification of the present study, objectives, review of literature, method and methodology in the conduct of research. Methodology, obviously, is related to the research design, selection of study period and sources material for writing the thesis.

Need of the Study

For a long time, the historians concentrated on the study of the regional political history dealing with war and battle. It was only recently that the social, economic and cultural history assumed a greater significance than the political history. Therefore, this study has been undertaken with a view to provide deeper insights into the social, economic, religious and cultural history of Haryana of the later Mughal periods in an integrated manner. In spite of Haryana's immense contribution to the country in several fields, the region has somehow escaped the needed attention of the scholars of writing the history of this region relating to later Mughal period. This is a real challenge. Unfortunately, the historical facts, socio-economic and religious conditions have not been researched well, remained neglected and received the scant attention of the historians. This needs proper scrutiny, investigation and research. To say, history writing on Haryana is relatively a new venture. Among varied reasons, this was primarily because of the fact that Haryana had never been a separate administrative-identified political unit for a long time. And many writings available give only one-side of the picture. Prior work on the subject was mostly the by-product of studies on other areas of history and was inadequate and sketchy. Thus, there is a need to provide a broader canvas to regional events and problems in an all India setting which remained untapped and unexplored. Frankly speaking, history knows no end. Every age writes and rewrites its history. Every generation beset with new issues,

problems and questions, look back to its history and re-interprets and reviews its past aiming at future. This is why history is not only contemporaneous but also futural. An attempt has been made here to provide a comprehensive and balanced treatment of historical, political, social, economic, religious and cultural and other outstanding issues pertaining to Haryana during later Mughal period.

During this period, the struggle for power between various powers continued. This chaotic political situation facilitated, if not invited, foreign invasions, notably those of Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Abdali. This period also saw the uprising and patriotism of the local people who sacrificed their lives. It was a transitional period from medieval to modern period of history when people of Haryana came into contact with the western world. With all negativities and ruthless exploitation of people and resources, the British Empire also left some positive impact on social and economic life of the people as well, particularly, in the fields of education and transportation. Looking at the happenings and events, this period in Haryana history occupies an important place which needs to be researched appropriately and adequately. There is thus a clear need and rationale for taking up this study relating to this period of the Haryana state. And the present study, therefore, attempts to fill a gap that existed. The study is expected to be exciting and rewarding. This would also meet the ever-growing demand and also the need of writing and re-writing the regional history in India of its different regions, in view of the vast knowledge and information that now is available.

The period (1707 to 1857), chosen for the purpose of our enquiry, has been an eventful period that witnessed the end of Mughal rule, the rise and fall of Sikh, Maratha and Jat powers and the emergence and domination of British rule in Haryana. It is a meeting point between the medieval and the modern historical periods. The entire period (1707-1857) may roughly be divided into three periods. The first period covers years from 1707 to 1761, and the second period begins after the battle of Panipat till the taking of Britishers of Haryana in 1803. Period III commences with 1803 and ends with the revolt of 1857.

Objective of the Study

The present research work has been undertaken, primarily with an objective to assess and evaluate the socio-economic dynamics of the Haryana region during later Mughal period, which is far from complete and also blurred. The efforts would be to place together the facts and events on the basis of records which are not only in-adequate but scattered and segmented. Then we shall identify the factors responsible for the emergence of these conditions in Haryana region. It will also be our endeavour to draw inferences and conclusions of the study on the basis of such analysis.

Research Methodology

Research methodology is a way to systematically solve the research problem⁴⁸. It is through proper research methodology that objectives of any research are met. Methodology, broadly, includes the research design and the methods employed for collecting records, information and material. It is to be remembered that the research design should be compatible with the availability of source material. There are two major components and dimensions of research methodology. These are:

(i) Research Design, and (ii) Source Material;

(i) Research Design

The research design adopted for our study is of a composite nature : mixing descriptive and explorative designs. This describes and explore the characteristics of the individuals, groups and the authorities. Most of the social research (historical research) comes under this composite category of design. This type of design gives equal importance to collection of existing facts and also moves to explore more new facts, as the situation demands. It is a rigid design which must take enough provision for safeguard and protection against bias ensuring maximum reliability.

(ii) Source Material

The history is not the mere narration of past events of deeds and misdeeds of ruling monarchs but places due emphasis on social institutions, their economic,

religious and cultural conditions. Because of this new trend, historical research is coming much closer to the society. In case of Haryana, the facts of Mughal history have been fairly well known, but the historical facts of later Mughal period, to which our study relates, remained neglected and hidden, to be brought on the surface. It is a critical analysis of the problem and the preservation of evidence relating to the problem. The study is mainly based on documentary evidence arranged from different sources. Though the sources are strewn all round but the same lack integrity and correlation. Every effort has been made to access and make the record as complete as possible. But unfortunately, social and economic life particularly in rural India is sparsely recorded. However, a reconstruction may be attempted on the basis of scattered information gleaned from contemporary literature as also from stray references in chronicles of this period. The sources of the history of Haryana relating to this period include both unpublished and published material. Unpublished materials are of two types: govt. records and private papers. Further, government records are archival records and non-archival records. Published material are in the shape of books, journals, periodicals, newspapers etc. Regarding archives, National Archives of India, New Delhi, Haryana State Archives, Panchkula, and Punjab State Archives, Patiala possess wealth of data and documents pertaining to this period with reference to Haryana region. The West Bengal State Archives, Calcutta have useful records pertaining to Haryana, as the region was part of the Bengal Presidency from 1803 to 1834. Besides, records at divisional level and district records, and District Gazetteers produce lot of data on various aspects of the socio-economic life of the people. A large amount of record in Persian and Urdu also exist. There are 74 volumes of miscellaneous papers that contain copies of orders, instructions and semi-official letters issued by the Residents of Delhi, political assistants and other offices. As to private records, in terms of , travellers' account, documents, reports, statistics, manuscripts, papers, letters, diaries etc., Haryana is badly placed for variety of reasons. Low level of literacy, people not habitual to maintain records and completely hostile attitude of the British towards those who possessed such records, had been some important

reasons⁴⁹. Besides these records, archaeological (monuments, excavation, forts, ruins of palaces, coins etc.), epigraphy and inscriptions, *bandobast* reports have been consulted for writing this thesis. Epigraphic (inscription science) in Haryana found hundreds of inscriptions engraved on rocks, stone, pillars, slabs and images, copper, earthen objects terracotta and bricks belonging to ancient medieval and modern time that produce wealth of information and throw light on Haryana region's past history⁵⁰.

Review of Literature

For the study of this kind in hand, factual accounts of events and situations need to be gleaned and compiled to arrive at some definite conclusions. The study is also built up to refine and qualifying the new findings on the basis of earlier studies and makes an original contribution to knowledge. We have drawn freely from the various standard work on the subject and tried to present the facts in a concise and lucid form. As stated already, no serious efforts were made by historians to write the history of Haryana as it did not enjoy any separate administrative status. But now due to the efforts made by several scholars, the history of Haryana has taken some shape. B.C. Lal and R.C. Aggarwal were the earliest Indian scholars who had written on several aspects of history and culture of Haryana much before the creation of new state. Kurukshetra, which is the holiest place of pilgrimage of the ancient world had been the central theme of these writers. Then H.R.Gupta, edited a book on *Marathas and Panipat*, giving vivid description and events and incidents. Besides H.R.Gupta, T.S.Shejwalker's *Panipat 1761*, and S.M. Pagadi's *Panipat Cha Sangram*, are significant works giving good account of the third battle of Panipat that took place between Ahmad Shah Abdali and Marathas. However, more systematic and consistent efforts were made by K.C.Yadav through *Journal of Haryana Studies*, and by writing several outstanding books depicting vividly a systematic historical treatment of this region through different periods. Buddha Praksh's two books, *Haryana Through the Ages* and *History of Kurukshetra*, provide the historical growth of Haryana from the earliest times to the present. H.A. Phadke's book on *Haryana : Ancient and Medieval*, is another notable contribution. Silak Ram on the

Inscription of Haryana, and Suraj Bhan on the basis of archaeological and literary sources, through his book *Recent Archaeological Investigations and their Contribution to the Cultural History of Haryana*, are useful work in this direction. Mulk Raj Anand's *Haryana Heritage*, published in 'Marg' provides commendable illustrated survey of the art tradition of the region. The faculty and research scholars in the department of History, M.D.University and Kurukshetra University, have also produced research work pertaining to the state of Haryana leading to new insights, knowledge and findings. We have provided liberal and also detailed bibliography at the end of the thesis which will benefit all prospective scholars interested in writing Haryana history in future.

Chapterisation

So that research work presents a cohesive look, a systematic chapter scheme becomes absolutely necessary. The present research work, accordingly, is divided into well-knit and well- integrated six chapters. A brief descriptions of the contents of each chapter is as follows:

Chapter one is introductory in nature giving a brief account of the state of Haryana, its geo-physical and other features, the origin of the name, antiquity and the historical perspective of Haryana region till 1707. It then spells out the important steps employed in the process of this research work such as need of the study, objectives, research methodology : research design, source material, and review of literature.

Chapter two presents a detailed view of the political history of the region of this period. The study period has been analysed further in terms of three sub periods.

Chapter three portrays vividly social conditions of the Haryana region during the period under review. To evaluate social structure and various facets of the society, these have been described under different heads such as social institutions, village republic, caste system, women position in the society, dresses and ornaments, fairs and festivals, folk arts and culture. It also sketched the conditions pertaining to education language and literature.

Chapter four is devoted to the discussion of economic conditions of the people during the later Mughal period in the region. While attempting so, issues such as agriculture and its allied problems, industries, communication, trade and commerce have been dealt with.

Chapter five makes an attempt to discuss the emergent religious realm of the region which has played a very important role in the society. We have discussed internal and external factors governing popular religions and the sects, namely Hinduism, Islam, Sikhism, etc. those prevailed in the region. This chapter has also included in its fold, some socio-religious movements and reforms to fight against the social evils, tyranny and exploitation of the Mughals and the British. It also deals with other aspects such as growth of religious literature and architecture in the region, during this period.

The sixth and last chapter of the study provides a brief resume of the research work and the more significant conclusions emerging from the study.

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CHAPTER – TWO

CHAPTER TWO

POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE HARYANA REGION DURING 1707-1857

This chapter presents, in a detailed manner, the political history of the Haryana region during 1707-1857, i.e., the period of our study. The detailed analysis has been carried out here in terms of following three sub-periods.

Period I	:	1707 to 1761
Period II	:	1761 to 1803
Period III	:	1803 to 1857

Period I commences with the death of Aurangzeb in 1707 till the third battle of Panipat in 1761. Period II begins soon after the battle of Panipat till the taking over by the Britishers the Haryana in 1803. Period III gives an account of British administration their relationship with declining Mughal power in Haryana and the revolt of 1857.

INTRODUCTION

After the death of Aurangzeb in March 1707, at the age of 88, Mughal Empire faced very serious problems on all fronts. The war of succession among his three sons ensued that served to weaken the Mughal empire. There had been some fourteen Mughal emperors after Aurangzeb to Bahadur Shah Zafar (See chart), the last Mughal Emperor. Several of them served only titular head of the Mughal Empire. Most of them were indolent, dissolute and incompetent rulers incapable of evoking either respect or fear¹. They were always busy in their luxuries, opulence and intrigues and nothing to remedy the evils that had crept into the Mughal polity. The decline of Mughal Empire and its ultimate fall had repercussions on Haryana region as anywhere else in India. Then the persecution of Hindus and oppressive measures by the Mughal and later by the Britishers was another very common practice witnessed in the region during the period under review. The systematic and deliberate policy against Hindus during the later

Mughal period was much in evidence. British power that emerged during the period also continued their oppressive policies against Hindus and Muslims of this region. The faulty economic policies accompanied with frequent famines, prolonged wars and repressions led to great misery, impoverishment and bankruptcy of the people. This situation led to alienation of the people of this area against Mughals as well as British power during this period. All these repressive policies pursued by Mughals and later by the British with an urge to build up their own independent kingdom, the people of this area, and religious organizations took cudgel with authorities. As a result, several new centres of power came up in different parts of the region which did not acknowledge the Mughal and British authorities. Local power of Jats, Sikhs, Ahirs, Marathas, Rohillas etc. attempted to exercise power in a manner that involved and affected a much larger population of the region. Not only that, there was intense mutual rivalries and conflicts among these powers as they were keen to set up their own independent kingdom or pocket of influence.

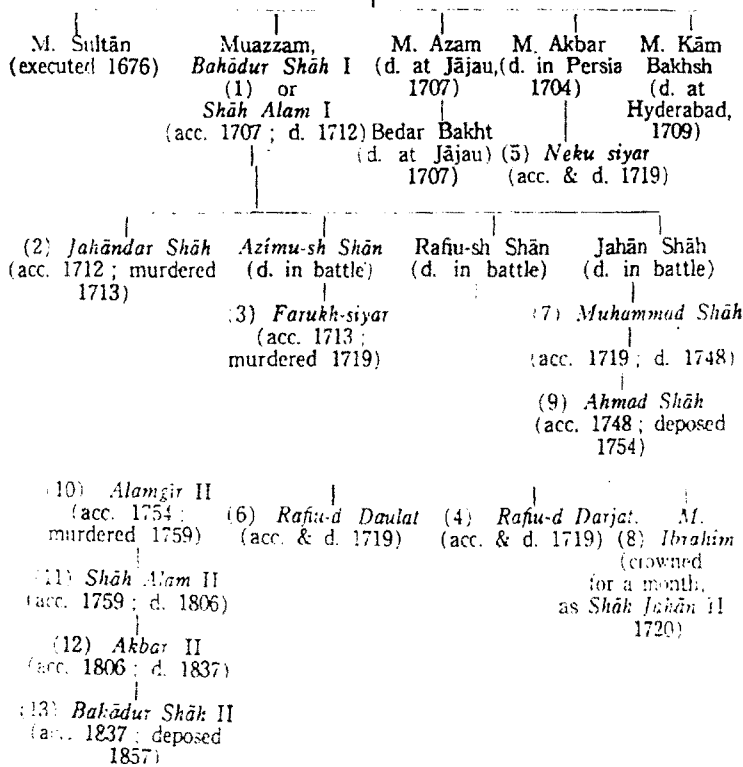
Not only the local and people from other parts of the country were lured to capture Haryana region but also attracted invaders from foreign lands. Nadir Shah and Ahmed Shah Abdali invaded this part of the country, plundered and looted everything they could lay their hands upon. The third battle of Panipat probably the bloodiest battle in Indian history was fought in Haryana in 1761. These invasions and battles left indelible mark on the people and society of this region.

Besides, the European trading companies from Portugal, France, Britain and Holland which established their ventures and influence in India also had their interest in Haryana region. The decline of Mughal authority provided a great God-send opportunity to them and Britishers took lead and penetrated into this region. George Thomas and Charles Metcalfe made efforts to establish regular administration in Haryana. And East India Company acquired the Haryana region in 1803. The British administration took various steps to lower the position of Mughal Emperor. Slowly the British had consolidated their position in Haryana and had become the real masters of the territory². The revolt of 1857 which

Chart

GENEALOGY OF LATER MUGHALS

ALAMGIR I (AURANGZEB)



engulfed the entire state was also finally crushed by the British, and Haryana was annexed with Punjab in 1858. British continued to rule Haryana till 1947 when India won its independence.

Period I : Later Mughal Period- I - 1707 to 1761

With the death of Aurangzeb in 1707, the Mughal rule in India ceased to exist to be an effective force. The death of Aurangzeb was followed by a period of decline, confusion and disorder throughout northern India. And Haryana, which was included mostly in Delhi *Subah* and partly in Agara *Subah* was no exception. Due to religious bigotry of Aurangzeb, the peasants of Haryana became rebellions at the beginning of the 18th century.

(i) Emergence of Banda and Sikhs

The Sikh movement which was started by Guru Nanak to reform the religious beliefs and strengthen the Sikh brotherhood, changed into a political movement during the 18th century. The Sikhs posed a very serious challenge to the Mughal imperial authority. Guru Gobind Singh's conflict with Aurangzeb is well known as is Banda Bahadur's rebellion against Aurangzeb's successors. The origin and antecedents of Banda still remain a matter of difference of scholarly opinion. According to one opinion, Banda was originally a native of a village either Pandor in Jullundharor Rajauri in Puncch³ and intimately connected with Guru Gobind Singh and his family. H.R. Gupta is of the opinion that Banda belonged to Sirmour state of Nahan district of Himachal Pradesh. K.C. Yadav is of the opinion that he was a resident of Haryana and Kharkhoda may be considered as the native town of Banda Bahadur⁴. After the death of Guru Gobind Singh, the Sikhs rallied around the leadership of Banda Singh Bahadur. Banda with the help of Sikhs and also Hindus took up cudgels against the tyranny of Mughals. The prominent Sikhs of the Punjab flocked around him with their followers. A large number of them assembled in two to three months⁵.

As far as Haryana is concerned, he first appeared in the town of Kharkhoda near Sonapat and Delhi. He attacked Sonapat, routed its *faujdar* and forced him to flee to Delhi⁶. Then he captured the town of Sadhaura dominated by

Muslims, a place about 26 miles east of Ambala. He devastated the entire town, many inhabitants of the town were killed and their houses plundered⁷. In many villages which he plundered, he appointed *thanadars* and *tehsildars* to collect the revenues of the neighbourhood for him⁸. The people of Haryana sided with Banda Bahadur as he emerged a secular leader. He commanded the faith and loyalties of Haryanvis. He reinforced his army by fresh recruitment from Sonapat to Kaithal and from Kaithal to Samana. The people of Haryana supported his cause. He looted the imperial treasury without much resistance. He further plundered Kunjpura, Mustafabad, Ambala, Kapuri, Chhal and Banur⁹.

Encouraged with the success, Banda then attacked Wazir Khan, the *faujdar* of Sarhind who had murdered Gobind Singh's sons¹⁰. A bloody battle took place and ultimately Sikhs triumphed. Wazir Khan and other Muslim leaders were slain¹¹. The old prosperous town of Sarhind was plundered and even women and children were not spared¹². After Sarhind fell, a Sikh named Bar Singh was appointed *Subahdar* of Sarhind¹³. Banda sent out expeditions in all directions and occupied nearly the whole of Sarhind Sarkar of *Subah* Delhi. In Haryana he occupied Kaithal, Sadhaura, Ambala, Shahbad, Thanesar etc¹⁴. Mainly, the area between rivers Satluj and Jaumna, was seized by Sikhs. It is quite surprising that the governor of Delhi *Subah* did nothing to restore order in the region. However, the responsibility to resist the Sikhs onslaught beyond Thanesar was taken up by Saradar Khan, a Muhammadan Rajput Zamindar but for whose exertions the Sikhs could never have been stopped in their advance to the imperial capital¹⁵.

Then ultimately Emperor Bahadur Shah on coming to know about the activities of Banda in Punjab including Haryana region came to deal with him and the Sikhs. On 22nd October 1710, the Mughal army reached Sonapat. Passing through Panipat, Karnal, Thanesar and Shahbad, the royal forces attacked Lohgarh, the capital of Banda government at the foot of Shivalik to the east of Sadhaura. Despite hardships of the campaign, the imperial forces, subsequently, succeeded in capturing Lohgarh. Banda finding it difficult to stand against the imperial forces, slipped away from Lohgarh during the night into the Sirmour

hills and from there to Chamba. On Feb. 22, 1713 Abdus Smad Khan was appointed governor of Lahore by Farrukh-siyar who ordered the former to expel Banda from his hideout or destroy him altogether. But when Abdus-Samad Khan arrived, Banda again managed to escape¹⁶ and took position at the earthen fort at Gurdaspur¹⁷. The imperial forces besieged Gurdaspur, stopped its supplies of corn and fodder and thus starved Banda and his followers into surrender on December 17, 1715¹⁸. He along with his disciples was captured and the new Emperor Farukhshiyar ordered maximum disgrace and humiliation to Banda and his soldiers were tortured to death on June 19, 1716¹⁹. His sucking son was also executed.

Banda reign of Haryana region was quite popular with the inhabitants. He took particular care to protect the interest of the cultivators and abolished the age-old Zamindari system²⁰. The people of Haryana sided with Banda as he emerged as a secular leader. From the beginning upto the end, he remained unchallenged leader of the Haryana and Punjab. He commanded the faith and loyalties of Haryanvis. He was the first empire builder for the Sikhs. In the words of Khuswant Singh, "The movement to infuse the sentiments of Punjabi nationalism in the masses received a set back with Banda death"²¹. With Banda's death, Haryana which was lost to the Sikhs was regained by the Mughals. After Banda's death in 1714, the Sikhs in general, remained silent for a very long period.

(ii) Rise of other Local Powers and their Contours

The repressive policies pursued by Mughals were opposed by the local people. Besides Sikhs, as mentioned above, Jats, Ahirs and Marathas all were keen to set up their own independent kingdom or pocket of influence and tried to exercise power either within the ambit of authority framework or without it.

Jats : Jats were formidable force that gave a good and determined fight to Mughals. Jats an agricultural class, were concentrated around Delhi-Agra area. Over the time period, they turned out to be so strong that they shook the stability of the core area of Delhi of the Mughal Empire and tried to establish an autonomous kingdom. Rajaram Jat of Mathura fought against Aurangzeb with 20,000 youths and lost 4,000 of them in the expedition. After the death of

Rajaram, the leadership passed on to Churaman Jat. He took part in the campaign against the Sikhs and the Mughal army²². Churaman was one such Jat leader who remained in charge of the royal road from Delhi to the Chambel and had secret blessings of Saiyyid brothers who were on a very dominant position at the imperial court²³. Churman continued to harass the Mughal government and his son Mukham Singh, killed Nilakhan the Nagar, the deputy of Saadat Khan, who was then the governor of Agra. As Badan Singh, the nephew of Churaman sided with Jai Singh, Mukham Singh could not face and fled. There upon, Badan Singh, consolidated his position in next 20 years and built the fort of Baharatpur, Kumbhar and Dig. His successor Surajmal was a shrewd ruler and outstanding statesman who expanded his rule in south Haryana. He captured Faridabad and its nearby places. Among all the Jat rulers, Surajmal, who wielded Jat power and also ruled a big area in Haryana from 1756 to 1763, was the most influential. The defeat of the Marathas in Panipat provided an opportunity for Surajmal to extend his kingdom. He had special interest in Haryana as he was married to Rani Kishori belonging to a Jat family of Hodal. Surajmal's Jat Kingdom was spread upto Ganga in the east, the Chambal in the south, Delhi in the south and Agra in the west, including present large areas of Haryana, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh. Unfortunately, his rule was short lived and his death on December 25, 1763, in a battle field near the river Hindan, was a blow to the Jat state, and his son Jawahar Singh and others were not equal to him.

Gopal Singh Jat was another leader of Jats who was accepted Chaudhary of Faridabad during Farukhsiyar's region and was allowed a revenue of one anna after every rupee. Later, his son Charan Das refused to accept the authority of Delhi throne and so was his son Ballab Singh (Ballu Jat). Ballab Singh captured nearly whole of the area between Delhi and Faridabad. He got a fort constructed at Ballabgarh and established his capital at this place. Then in the year 1753, the combined Mughal and Maratha army invaded Ballabgarh and later assassinated Ballabh, his son and other persons on November 29, 1753²⁴. Raja Surajmal wrested Ballabgarh from Mughal but it was not a force to reckon with²⁵.

Ahirs : Next to Jats, Ahirs came up to rule southern part of Haryana around Rewari, Jhajjar, Gurgaon and Narnaul area. The state of Rewari was established by a Ahir *Subedar* Nand Ram of village Garhi Bolni during the reign of Aurangzeb²⁶. After Nand Ram's death his elder illustrious son Bal Krishna succeeded him. He was awarded a *mansab* of 2,000 by Aurangzeb and later king Muhammad Shah bestowed upon him the title of *Sher Bachacha Samsher Bahadur*²⁷. Balkishan faced Nadir Shah very bravely in Karnal and laid his life there²⁸. As noted by Man Singh, the author of *Abhira Kula Dipika*, his valour and bravery even drew the attention of Nadir Shah who paid rich tribute to him.

Rao Gujar Mal, younger brother of Balkishan was appointed *Faujdar* of Rewari after latter's death. He received the *Jagir* of twelve villages from the Mughals. But then the conflict arose between his neighbour, Dalel Khan, a favourite of Farukhsiyar and Hakim of the territory comprising most of the present Gurgaon district. Dalel Khan - a Bilauch founded the city of Farrukhnagar which became the centre of his power³⁰. Gujar Mal was more strong and could add Hisar and Jhajjar to his expanding estate. His territories formed comprising Hisar, Jhajjar, Hansi, Dadri, Bhiwani, Kanod and Narnaul, and the Rewari served as capital³¹. Gaajaramal was assassinated by Bahadur Singh - son of Hatti Singh, treacherously, in 1750³². Gujar Mal was friendly with Badan Singh, the Jat chief of Bharatpur. With the death of Rao Gujar Mal, ended the glorious period of the history of Rewari state. After his death, Bhawani Singh became *Raja* of Rewari. But he was incompetent and Rewari under him was encroached upon by the neighbouring states- Jaipur, Farrukhnagar and Jhajjar and he was left with only 23 villages around Rewari³³.

It is seen that towards the middle of eighteenth century, Haryana was out of control of the rulers of Delhi. It was mostly parceled out among the local chiefs. For example, Raja Surajmal of Bharatpur occupied Faridabad and its adjoining area³⁴. Madho Singh of Jaipur had taken control of Kanod and Narnaul, Ahir rulers were in saddle in Rewari, Karmonagar Khan Baluch, the governor of Farrukhnagar held a vast territory comprising the whole of the districts of Rohtak and Hisar, parts of Gurgaon, Jind and Patiala³⁵. Qutab Shah, usurped parts of

Panipat and Sarhind districts west of Jammuna; Najahat Khan Ruhela held parts of Kurukshetra and Karnal, Muhammad Amin and Hasan Khan took possession of Fatehabad, Rania and Sirsa, while Bahadur Khan was granted the Jagir of Bahadurgarh. Other minor chiefs of Haryana Asadulla Khan and Hasan Ali Khan were the rulers of Tauru and Jhajjar respectively³⁶.

Marathas : Besides Jats, Ahirs and Sikhs, Marathas were also eager to expand the sphere of their political influence in Haryana region. The Marathas' entry into the Delhi politics dates back to the times of Shahu. Balaji Vishvanath, the first Peshwa, marched to Delhi in 1718, to obtain approval of the Emperor Farrukhsiyar for the peace treaty agreed between Shahu and Husain Ali. The final confirmation of the treaty by the emperor in March 1719 opened up new doors to Marathas³⁷. They realized that the splendid structure of Mughal empire was crumbling and was a prize worth attempting and worth fighting for. It widened the outlook of Marathas and ensured campaigns for the conquest and expansion beyond Narmada. Then for another five years from 1719-1724, was period of unprecedented confusion in the history of the Mughal empire.

In Delhi, four Mughal kings were made in course of a single year one after the other. Taking advantage of these troubles, the Marathas embarked upon a resolute policy of aggression in respect of Mughal territory. Ambaji was appointed as the *faujdar* of Sonapat on behalf of Mughal Emperor at Delhi to subdue the Gujars around Delhi. Baji Rao's sudden appearance before Delhi on March 28, 1737, visited Rewari³⁸. In fact the first phase of Maratha ascendancy at Delhi court may have actually began from the death of Wazir Qamr-ud-din and Empror Muhmmad Shah in 1748 and continued with short intervals till the battle of Panipat in 1761³⁹. Marathas established their supremacy in Haryana for a short while and had to retreat from the region after crushing defeat in the third battle of Panipat.

Notably, the Mughal Empire was completely at the mercy of Marathas and therefore they had to shoulder the responsibility of the defence of India against the interval uprising and the external invaders like Ahmad Shah Abdali. At occasions, as the Marathas did not get the promised price for their assistance to

the Mughals, they took recourse to plundering Delhi and its adjoining region. The Marathas soliders started harassing the villages in the north of Delhi in 1754. The farmers of Jalalpur and other villages near Narela retaliated and made surprise attack on Marathas. Malhar Rao fought and attacked three villages-Jalalpur, Nahra and Nahri and several other villages in the vicinity. And the complaints to impeprial authority against these outrages were of no avail⁴⁰. The Mughal emperor surrendered Kurukshetra to Peshwa and Muslim officers were withdrawn. Raghunath Rao after crossing the Jamuna returned via Badarpur, Gurgaon, Jhajjar, Narnaul, Singhana to Pushkar, while Malhar Rao followed the route via Naraina, Rewari and Pataudi districts levying tributes from Gujar and Baluch landlords of Haryana⁴¹. Malhar Rao also plundered Taraori and Karnal and collected a tribute of Rs. five lakhs from Kunjapura. They had certain other movements in Punjab and Haryana during this period and their entanglement in these areas would further be discussed while taking up Abdali's invasion in the region subsequently in the Chapter. However, it can be surmised that after Panipat, Marathas returned leaving the Sikhs and Jats to fill the void as they felt that they could not be political successor of the Mughals in the region.

Rohillas : Rohillas and Rajputs did not lag behind in consolidating their position by taking advantage of the disintegration of Mughal emperors. They were the Indian Pathan who came to India during the 17th century due to political and economic disruption in Afghanistan. And in due course of time they set up a petty kingdom, Rohilkhand. This was the area of the Himalayan foothills located between Kumaon in the north and the Ganga in the south. They suffered at the hands of Jats, Marathas and the British. Mohammad Khan Bangesh, an Afghan, had set up an independent kingdom to the east of Delhi. Politically, the role of Afghan was negative which only accentuated the decline of the Mughal by subduing Awadh, which could have checked British expansion.

(iii) Foreign Invaders : Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Abdali

Not only the local and people from other parts of the country were lured to capture Haryana region but also attracted aggressors from foreign lands. Nadir Shah from Persia and Ahmad Shah Abdali from Afghanistan invaded this part of

the country. plundered and looted everything that they could lay their hands upon. Nadir Shah, a Persian Turkish monarch attacked India in 1738-39. He soon conquered Lahore and the Mughal army was defeated at Karnal on 13th February 1739. The battle was over in less than three hours but the loss to Mughal army was terrible⁴². Nadir Shah then captured Mughal Emperor Mohammed Shah and Delhi laid waste and helpless. During Nadir's advancement to Delhi, Panipat, Sonapat and other towns lying on the way were similarly sacked⁴³. Nadir's invasions left Delhi (a stay of 57 days at Delhi) and the surrounding areas worse-off and as a crying city. Besides, a cash of Rs. 70 crore, he also looted the two most prized items: The *Peacock Throne* and the *Kohinur diamond*. The wealth extorted by Nadir represented a big draw on the resources of the country. On his way back, Nadir Shah moved to Sonapat via Narela where the people overtook his army. The peasants of the area looted Nadir's luggage from behind. He lost 1,000 transport animals, camels and horses before reaching Thanesar⁴⁴. In anger, he ordered massacre here and some other towns on the way. The indignation and humiliation to which the emperor, the court and the people were put was the saddest chapter in the history of those times. Then Nadir Shah, moved towards Mathura, and fort of Ballabgarh was taken on the way. Its Jat garrison, headed by Jawahar Singh, Surajmal's son, resisted fiercely but the stronghold was stormed and its garrison put to sword. The soldiers were given orders to kill and destroy whatever lay in their path, and to retain all that they seized. Then suddenly cholera had broken out and weather becoming more and more uncomfortable, Nadir Shah abruptly abandoned his mission and returned to Afghanistan after handing over to Ahmad Shah Abdali or Durrani an important General of Nadir Shah. Nadir Shah's invasion hastened the process of disintegration of the Mughal Empire. And Haryana which remained an integral part of the empire for a long time had also to undergo tremendous sufferings. Its peace, prosperity and industry were completely destroyed and people were forced to flee to safer places or resign to the will of God.

After Nadir Shah was assassinated, Ahmad Shah Abdali, leader of Durrani Afghans, was made the king. On June 9, 1747, he attacked Lahore and captured

it on January 12, 1748. At the time of Abdali's invasion, Emperor Muhammad Shah was suffering from an attack of paralysis.

Ahmad Shah invaded north India many times between 1748 and 1767. The most well-known was his victory over the Marathas in 1761, which is known as the third battle of Panipat. The battle lasted 6-7 hours from about 9.00 in the morning to about 3.30 p.m. Panipat's probably the bloodiest battle in Indian history where 30,000 dead bodies were counted on the field of battle and many more Marathas and others were massacred who were hiding in the city and suburb. And nearly 20,000 were taken prisoners⁴⁵. And by 1761, the Mughal Empire was an Empire only in name. In fact "The Mughal rule began and ended on the field of Panipat"⁴⁶. Abdali, the victor of Panipat battle wrote letter to Raja Madho Singh of Jaipur describing battle of Panipat "The enemy distinguished themselves and fought so well that it was beyond the capacity of other races. Gradually, the fighting passed from the exchange of cannon and rocket fire to the discharge of muskets from which it produced to the stage of combat with swords, daggers and knives. They grabbed each other by neck. The dauntless blood-shedders (the Marathas) did not fall short in fighting and doing glorious deeds. Suddenly, the breeze of victory began to blow and as willed by the Divine Lord, the wretched Deccani suffered utter defeat. Forty to fifty thousand troops and infantry men of the enemy became as grass before our pitiless swords. All the enemy's artillery, elephants and property have been seized by my men"⁴⁷. The war ended on January 14, 1761 and Abdali returned to his highlands early in March 1761, leaving dismantled provinces of the Mughal Empire to be appropriated by various powers that were now contending for ascendancy in India⁴⁸.

Mughal power in India was finally extinguished on the soil of Haryana from where it was lit in 1526 by Babur, the first Mughal Emperor in India by winning the first battle of Panipat against Abrahim Lodhi. The doom of the empire which was weakened from within, as shown above, was sealed by the fateful invaders namely Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Abdali. This also ended the Peshwa's dreams of establishing the Marathas ascendancy over all of India

including this region. The effects of these invasions left indelible mark on the people and the society of this region.

No doubt, Marathas fought for a glorious cause but they were the only power that faced the main brunt of the Abdali's attack, while others sided with the enemy or kept aloof. Marathas were defeated in the battle of Panipat because of inferior leadership, lack of food supply too large and heavy artillery, tactical mistakes and war diplomacy. Panipat remains a subject of special interest of the historians and a place of reverence for the people. It is befitting that the government of Haryana has erected memorial in memory of those Indians who laid their lives to defend their mother land from the foreign invaders. The memorial site is six km. from Panipat. The site was marked by black mango tree (*Kala Amb*) which has since disappeared. The site is marked by a brick pillar with an iron rod at the top, while the white structure is surrounded by an iron fence (See Appendix Plate No. 20). The pillar bears an inscription in English and Urdu. The English version reads : "This pillar marks the site of the black mango tree near which was fought the Third Battle of Panipat between Ahmad Shah Abdali and Maratha confederacy in 1761".

Period II : Later Mughal Period- II 1761-1803

After the debacle of Panipat, Marathas were demoralized whereas Jats and Sikhs felt encouraged. In 1760, Shah Alam II was declared the new emperor of Delhi after dethroning emperor Shah Jahan II. But as the Shah Alam II stayed in Allahabad till 1772, Najib-ud-Daula, the wazir became the *de facto* master of Delhi during long 12 years⁴⁹. Najib had extended his area upto Ballabgarh in South after expelling Jawahar Singh. On Dec. 25, 1763 Surajmal - the Jat Raja of Bharatpur was killed and the western districts of Hansi and Hisar also came under Najib⁵⁰. And the Baluchi areas in south-west of Delhi such as Jhajjar, Bhadurgarh, Farruknagar and Taoru also cooperated with Najib. Gohana, Rohtak and Dadri also came under Najib for the sake of their defence against the Jats. And nearly whole of Haryana region came under Najib's regime by 1775. It may be stated here that Sikhs who were fighting against the Mughal tyranny did not make permanent impact on Haryana territory as their activities were confined to

the north of Ghaggar which formed the northern boundary of Haryana. The leaders of Phulkian Misal, the chief of the houses of Patiala, Nabha and Jind alone carried their arms to Haryana for offensive and defensive measures against the Bhattis and the Rohillas⁵¹.

(i) Distribution of Territory of Haryana :

It is interesting to see that whereas southern part of Haryana was with Mughals, the north west was occupied by Sikhs and local leaders Raja Gajpat Singh was the leader who founded Jind State. He, with the help of Dal Khalsa, seized a large tract of district Jind, Safidon, routing Panipat and Karnal. After the death of Raja Gajpat Singh, Raja Bhag Singh – a middle son of Gajpat Singh succeeded who died in 1819. And at the time of his death, Jind state was composed of three tehsils – Jind, Dadri and Sangrur. He was a prominent figure among Mulwai Sikhs⁵².

Kaithal was annexed by Bhai Desu Singh in 1767 and declared Sikh rule over it. Bhai Desu Singh extended his territory to Chika and Pehowa and also built the fort of Kaithal. He died in 1781. Behal Singh, a son of Desu Singh was also awarded the *Jagir* of Gohana and Kharkhoda by Lord Lake⁵³. Ambala and part of Chhachhrauli were seized by a Sandhu Jat member of Karora Singhai Misal. Similarly, Gurdit Singh and Sahib Singh two brothers captured Karnal, Ladwa, Indri and Babain. Both the brothers were prominent figures in Sikh politics at that time⁵⁴. Jagadhari and Busia were under Lachmi Narain who was an officer of Zain Khan. Mehar Singh Sandhu seized Shahbad and Ismailabad.

From the above, it becomes evident that the people of this area allowed Sikhs to penetrate in this region to rule over them. The reasons are obvious. For a long time, the Sikhs wanted to rule their homeland and the area of this region was fertile. Besides, the area was in immediate neighbourhood of their homeland⁵⁵. The peasantry of the region belonged to Jat community, and mostly the Sikhs who came here as rulers, were also from the Jat community. However, they did not extend their cooperation to the Jat Raja of Bharatpur because in their south, there were Marathas and Mughals to oppose the Jats of Bharatpur.

Encouraged by the circumstances, Sikhs raided the territory of Najib-ud-dulah in Sonapat and Panipat districts in April 1766 and 1770 and crossed the Jamuna, plundered every village upto Delhi and also ravaged the territory of Jats of Bhartpur.. Again in March 1776, the combined forces of Sikhs and Rohillas advanced to Delhi and reached at the gates of Delhi. Shah Alam deputed Najab Khan who entered into a defensive alliance and succeeded in isolating the Rohillas from the Sikhs and at last there Sikhs were badly defeated on 14 Sep. 1777⁵⁶. Then again in the year 1783, a band of Sikhs soldiers led by Sardar Bhagat Singh of Thanesar crossed the Jamuna and lay encamped at Sarai Chat, 16 miles north of Delhi in March, 1783. They devastated the Rohilla territory on their way to Delhi as the latter sided with the Mughals earlier. The Mughal Emperor came to agreement and granted permission to Bhagat Singh to build four Gurdwaras at historical places in the territory of crown land and was allowed to collect octroi of Delhi⁵⁷.

In order to contain Sikh power in check, a treaty was concluded in 1785, between Sikhs and Marathas. According to this treaty, their unity of interest and of friendship was established. However, the British saw in their treaty a danger to the political interests of East India Company and the original treaty somehow was changed. It was included in terms of definitive treaty that the Sikhs will not create disturbances in the territory of the English and the *Nawab*, as they are the friends of Sindhia⁵⁸. Annoyed with the changed treaty, the Sikhs broke with British and started depredation in Doab and territory near Delhi as previously. Sindhia appointed several Maratha officers to check Sikhs' activities between 1790 to 1794. But they were not successful. Mahadji Sindhia died on Feb. 12, 1794 at Poona leaving his mission incomplete. This encouraged the Sikhs and with the death of Sindhia, their incursion became more extensive than ever before⁵⁹.

And ultimately in 1794, a large army of Marathas under Anta Rao and Lachhman Rao crossed the Jamuna and marched towards Patiala. Bibi Sahib Kaur with the help of Bhanga Singh, Mehtab Singh of Thanesar and Bhag Singh of Jind rushed to check the Marathas a few miles to the north-west of Ambala.

Anta Rao retired towards Karnal. But ruler of Kaithal at this juncture submitted to the Marathas⁶⁰.

Like Marathas, Rohillas also made inroads. Mirza Najaf Khan, one Rohilla Sardar who won the confidence of Shah Alam was given *paragans* of Hansi and Hissar and also attached Gurgaon, Rewari, Jhajjar and Bahadurgarh. He also made inroads in 1774, to the territory of Karnal, Jind, Shahabad, Thanesar and Ambala which were under the Sikh chiefs, but, ultimately, Rohillas had to leave Haryana. The Satnamis (or followers of the true name of God) were a strange sect with the stronghold at Narnaul, south west of Delhi and Mewat. Satnamis started collecting taxes from the villagers and established posts of their own. They were finally tackled and controlled.

(ii) Haryana Under George Thomas

George Thomas, an Irish, known in Haryana as *Jahaj Sahib*, was appointed commander of the battalion by Begum Samru in her army in 1787. This was the reward for Thomas for rescuing the Shah Alam II at the behest of Begum Samru. Then the Begum appointed Thomas to control Sikhs in Doab area. Thomas invaded Sirsa and expelled the Bhattis from there. Thomas performed his duty admirably and Sikh incursions into her territory decreased⁶¹. In 1792, Thomas was thrown out of the Begum's favour and he had to leave her and joined the services of Bapu ji Malhar, the Maratha Governor of Saharanpur. The governor sent Thomas to set the Sikhs right as they were trying to overthrow the power of the Marathas. He crushed Sikh power and reached Haryana and conquered certain places in Haryana like Jind, Kaithal Thanesar and Sirsa from 1798 to 1801. Then after he was dismissed by the governor, Thomas who had acquired his own troops numbering 3,000 by then started plundering towns and cities in the neighbourhood of Delhi. His constant successes gave him an idea of setting himself as a sovereign over some territory. In the intervals of his personal raids, he and his band of ruffians hired themselves out to any party that would pay them⁶². Consequently, before the close of 1798, George Thomas carved out an independent principality for himself in a tract always covered with green grass. He was now a *Raja* of a kingdom which was bounded in the north by

the territories of *Raja* Sahib Singh of Patiala, in the north-west by country of Bhattis, in the west by Bikaner to the South by Jaipur in the south-east by Dadri, in the east by districts adjoining Delhi and in the north-east by Rohtak and Panipat. There were in all 800 villages that brought him income of Rs. 2,86,000 per year. Hansi was his capital. In order to resume the water scarcity in the area, he sunk 30 wells and encouraged merchants to settle there. He established a gun factory, mint and issued coins in his own name⁶³.

Then the Sikh chiefs united to oppose Thomas. In the initial attempt, Thomas subjected them to heavy artillery fire and they fled back. But then more Sikh forces arrived, Thomas left Jind and hurried to Hansi. Thomas was asked to subject himself to the authority of Sindhia which he declined to do. General Person's army ultimately defeated him in the battle of Beri near Jhajgarh (Georgegarh). He abandoned his conquests and retired to the British territory in the year 1801, where he died soon afterwards⁶⁴.

Period - III Later Mughal Period III – Haryana Under British Administration 1803-1857

On December 30, 1803, Daulat Rao Sindhia whose ancestors had occupied Haryana in days of declining Mughal Empire, ceded region of Haryana to the British East India Company vide a treaty of Sirjangan Goan. It was included (a great part of the region) in the Presidency of Bengal with a resident to administer it. It was according to this treaty that Sindhia relinquished his hold over Haryana and several other territories⁶⁵. Rest of the region was settled with different chiefs and *sardars*. By 1809, the whole of Haryana was under the control of British and had quelled all opposition in the region.

In 1806, Archibald Seton a Resident assisted by Charles. T. Metcalfe⁶⁶, made the first effort to establish regular administration. He was full of wisdom and patience. An essential step for this was to make a proper settlement of land. He carried out certain reforms also in Haryana. He revised the autonomous village system which Metcalfe put to best use. He gave to the territory a novel system of administration – the Delhi System, 'a combination of native practice

and regulation spirit⁶⁷. Metcalfe made serious efforts to prevent *sati*, abolition of capital punishment and the gradual abolition of corporal punishment. He also restored the ancient canal system of Delhi and by 1825 the old Firozshah canal was in working order which improved agriculture in the region. But in the early years of British rule, there was a lot of chaos and disorder⁶⁸. For some decades it had not seen any orderly government. Every village was a den of thieves who raided and plundered all around upto Delhi. Hence it was not easy to restore order and normalize the administration. Resultantly, it produced many stresses and strains and bred discontent and unrest among the people.

In 1833, north-western Province was formed to which Haryana was included after taking it away from Bengal, with its headquarters at Agra. North-west province had six divisions. Delhi being one, Haryana was included in it. This division was further divided into five districts of Panipat, Hisar, Rohtak, Gurgaon and Delhi, each under a district magistrate-cum-collector. The administration of upper parts of Haryana, i.e., the present districts of Karnal and Ambala, was conducted through the official designated as superintendent of political affairs and agent of the government in the territory of protected Sikh and hill chief at Ambala until 1849, when they were placed under the charge of Punjab government and all the chiefs falling in Haryana with some exception were deprived of all civil, criminal and fiscal jurisdiction. There were some principality states of Bahadurgarh, Jhajjar, Dujana, Pataudi, Loharu, Ballabgarh, Farrukhnagar and Jind, which were ruled by the local prince under the superintendence of the Resident. It can be said that British had consolidated their position in Haryana and had become the real masters of the territory.

The people's response to English establishment in Haryana treated it like other invader and continued their resistance wherever possible. The Sikh chiefs of Ambala, Karnal and Thanesar were the first to oppose the company rule. Resident of Delhi sent a big force under Colonel Burn in 1805 to subdue these Sikhs. The Sikhs first fought with valour but soon left the field. However, the company did not occupy the conquered territory. It remained under the control of the original chiefs under the treaty of Sirjjanjan Gaon.

It is seen that Sikhs were able to maintain territorial integrity to some extent till 1845. But after that, Sikh domain, was subjected to the British Imperial system and it was fully annexed to the British empire in 1849. On the whole, Sikh emergence has a vast impact on the life of the people of Haryana region. They gave a clear message to rural and urban population that they can be drawn into the apparatus that created scope for individual and group initiative for independence. The peasants, artisans and traders experienced a novel experience of acquiring independence, though it is another matter that during this period no significant technological or structural changes took place in the region. Punjab under Sikh rule remained rooted in medieval Indian polity and society⁶⁹.

The second opposition of the British rule came from the inhabitants of the southern Haryana which included the districts of Gurgaon and Mahendergarh inhabited by Meos, Ahirs, Jats and Ranghars. The British forces could crush their rebellion also. Similarly, the Muslim Bhatti Rajput of the western Haryana took a tough attitude. The company after subduing them distributed territory among the *nawabs* of Jhajjar, Loharu and Dujana. It is evident that by the end of the first decade of the nineteenth century, the British had consolidated their position in Haryana and had become the real masters of the territory⁷⁰. Though the British controlled the Delhi territory completely by 1809-10, the opposition did not completely subside. The mismanagement and the absence of judicial administration, coercive methods adopted for the land settlements and maltreatment of the chiefs by the British encouraged antagonism between the rulers and ruled. A series of disturbances and revolt took place during the East India Company's tenure.

In fact, the British did not find it easy to administer Haryana. Though they wanted to improve the lot of rural masses through various welfare programs and projects, but the Haryana being of a somewhat independent nature did not accept the English authority. Even the land revenue could not be collected without the support of the army. People reactions to the Judicial system invited hatred as the new administration had destroyed the local institutions like *Panchayats*. Resultantly, the people felt insecure and unhappy. Similarly, the



government dues collected through '*Kampany Bahadoor*' was nothing short of robbery. The government dues in most of these cases were more than 50 per cent of the gross produce⁷¹. These dues were fixed arbitrarily. It completely shattered the peasants' economy.

The brave people of Haryana who were not accustomed to tolerate such impositions, should have felt like doing away with such a *raj*. But because of strong hold of the rulers they could not do much to rise as a body organization. But whenever any opportunity of this kind occurred to them, they did not hesitate to strike. Chhachhrauli, in the present tehsil of Jagadhari in Yamuna Nagar district was the first trouble spot for the British after the death of its chief, Bungail Singh (1809). The British Resident at Delhi did not agree Jodh Singh to be the heir of Bungail Singh. The people sided with Jodh Singh and tried to defend him (Oct. 1818). But Arnold and his army defeated Jodh Singh and the territory was annexed to the British raj⁷². Soon after Chhachhrauli, Rania (Sirsa) was in arms. Nawab Zabita Khan did not care for the British authority as he encouraged his people (Bhattis) to carry as regular plundering expeditions into the British territories adjoining his state. But then the Delhi government sent a force and the state was confiscated and brought under the direct control of the *Kampany Bahadoor*⁷³. In 1824, the peasants who were undergoing several exploitative measures of the government in the matter of revenue assessment and its collection were in arms against the British and brave Jat peasantry of Rohtak led this movement and finished off all the vestiges of the *Feringhee* rule from their land⁷⁴. Murder of Fraser, a cruel and licentious resident of Delhi (1835) was reflection of people revolt against British Raj. Fraser had subjected Sham Suddin *Nawab* of Loharu's cousin sister to his seductive designs⁷⁵. The *Nawab* got him killed on March 1835. Nawab was hanged on October 1835 and this annoyed the Muslims. Since the existing press did not glorify his death this gave birth to Urdu press : The Delhi Akhbar⁷⁶.

Disturbances of Chhachhrauli in the present tehsil of Jagadhari in Yamuna Nagar district, trouble in Rania (Sirsa), the Peasant Revolt in 1824, murder of Fraser – as detailed above and Partap Singh revolt in Jind in 1812,

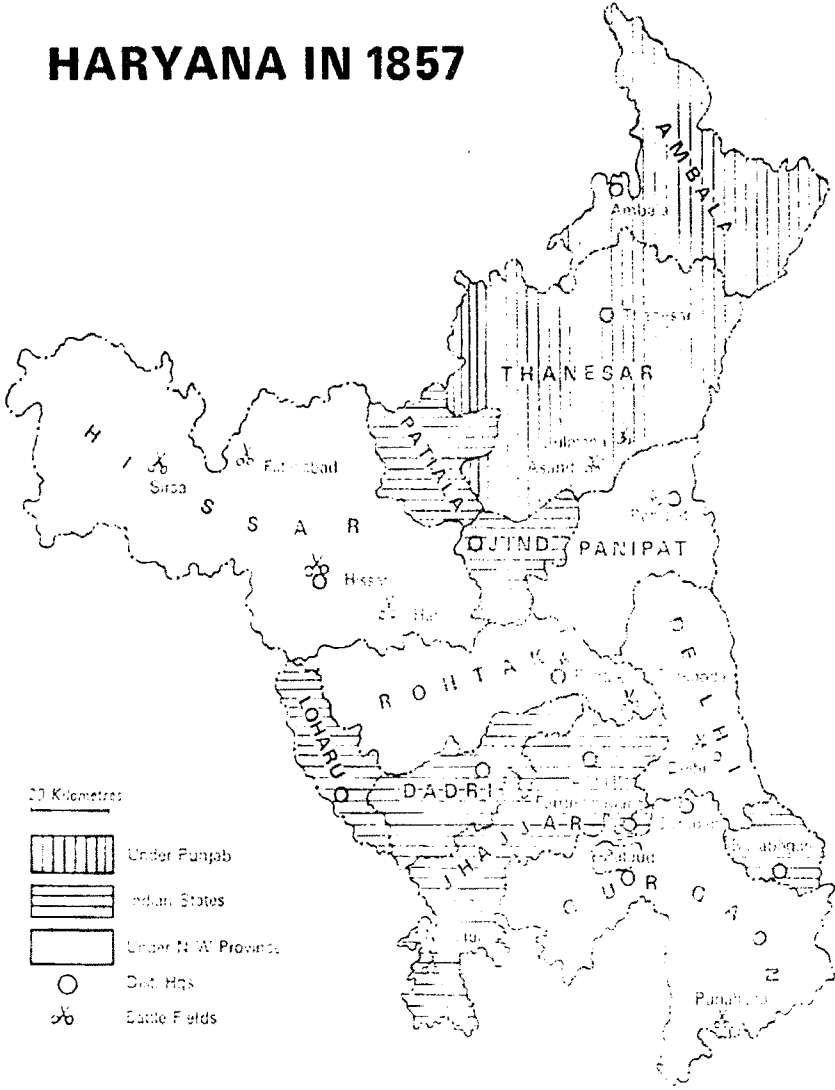
challenge from Sangat Singh, Balawali were important events. In Mewat, Mewatis came out in large number and formed a *dhar* to finish the British rule⁷⁷. Ajit Singh revolted at Ladwa⁷⁸, Sikh chiefs' opposition in the Cis-Sutlej tract of first Anglo-Sikh war, 1845-6 are some prominent events that amply prove that the people of Haryana wanted to throw foreign yolk. There is no denial that these outbursts were suppressed but spirit of people remained alive. They were impatient to rise up against the British reign. And look, they got an opportunity with the outbreak of 1857 revolt to overthrow English *Raj*.

The Revolt of 1857 and Aftermath

We have seen that the British rule of a little more than of half a century from 1803 to 1857 generated disaffection, discomfiture and discontentment among the masses in Haryana due to their exploitative policies. This misrule among other factors, like terrible famines and deadly epidemics in the region, had made the life of people quite miserable and prepared the ground for revolt against the British. The opportunity was provided by the sepoy mutiny at Ambala, and Meerut on May 10, 1857 and at Delhi on the 11th of May. The influential leaders of the uprising in Haryana were feudal chiefs like Rao Tula Ram of Rewari, Nahar Singh of Ballabgarh, Ahmed Ali of Farrukhnagar, Abdur Rehman of Jhajjar, Bahadurjang Khan of Delhi, Hasaan Ali of Dujana, and Nur Mohamad Khan of Rania, and Ammuddin of Loharu and Akbar Ali of Pataudi. District-wise details of uprising would reveal that the 60th Native Infantry (NI) stationed at Ambala initiated the revolt⁷⁹ that spread to Meerut, Delhi and other places. And practically the whole of Haryana was in revolt by the end of May 1857.

As noted, the first bugle of the 1857 revolt was blared at Ambala on 10 May 1857 by 60th NI and the 5th NI. The English soon suppressed these by the superior European forces. As a result, the 'rebels' failed to transform their intentions into a working reality. Civil population sympathized and rose to the occasion against the British due to strict measures applied by the authorities with the help of troops of Patiala, Nabha and Jind. They were not successful. Sardar Mohar Singh was the leading figure in and around Rupar near Ambala⁸⁰.

HARYANA IN 1857



The mutineers of Meerut and Delhi attacked Gurgaon on 13th May 1857 and all the British officers worth the name fled away to Mathura. Then the Mewatis rose in great numbers. They attacked Tauru, Sohna, Ferozepur-Jhirka and there was no resistance. The loyalists and the British troops fought well, but they were completely routed by Mewatis⁸¹. In Ahirwal, Rao Tula Ram - who waged a struggle against the British from 1857 to 1863, captured Rewari⁸². In this revolt, he supported Bahadur Shah against the British. But then he was subdued. He later died soon on September 23, 1863 due to illness at a young age of 38 in Afghanistan. He was the first Indian to plan the overthrow of British imperialism with foreign help when the great revolt petered out. He expressed his happiness on hearing the news of the fall of British at Delhi on 11 May, 1857. He expressed his happiness by writing to Emperor Bahadur Shah⁸³. Nawabs of Jhajjar, Dadri and Farrukanagar were arrested and sent to Delhi.

In Rohtak, similar things happened. On hearing the news of the fall of Delhi, all the Jat clans rose up and finished off all vestiges of the British rule from their localities. The Ranghars of Rohtak also revolted under the able leadership of Bisarai Ali of (from Kharkaiuda) and Babur Khan. The Ranghars under these two leaders freed the whole of their local people from the British control. Rohtak rebels also joined but Haryana 'light infantry' from Hansi, Hisar and Sirsa suppressed them. Lt. WSR Hodson, was sent with a small force. The rebels were evacuated from Rohtak and went to Bassi, six miles from Hansi in considerable diminished number. Hodson left Rohtak for Delhi, leaving the district and its important towns, such as Kharkhaudah, Sampla, Sonapat, Meham, Gohana etc. under the care and watch of the *raja* of Jind and some local *chaudhris*⁸⁴.

The revolt also spread in Hisar, Hansi and Sirsa. Their local leaders were Muhammed Azim, a descendant of royal family of Delhi, Hukam Chand Jain, a businessman of Hansi, Nur Muhammad Khan of Rania. In Hisar, the Deputy Commissioner, along with several other European, was killed. The officers stationed at Sirsa fled away. Then in June, General Van Courtland, reached

Hisar and created a havoc among the people⁸⁵. Prime Muhammad Azim again fought but was not successful.

In Panipat district, the people fought under the leadership of the Imam of the Shrine of Bu Ali Kalandhar (priest) but they were defeated and the Imam was arrested and hanged⁸⁶. At Bullah village, the Jats under his leadership of Ram Lal opposed Captain Hughes. Like Panipat, the people of Thanesar district revolted. In Karnal also people revolted but the British made tight security arrangements to control the G.T. road. However, the peasants of this area refused to pay land revenue. Similarly, the people of Ladwa, Pehowa, Pundri, Kaithal and Assandh also revolted.

The impact of this revolt was stupendous. Almost the whole Haryana had been independent of the British rule. And everywhere it was a civil populace that destroyed the remnants of foreign domination in the region. An uprising of this type could not be dismissed as mutiny by any stretch of imagination. In Haryana, it was nothing short of popular upsurge of the common people. But, unfortunately, in the absence of able leadership and resources they could not sustain this for long. On the 16th Sept. 1857, Delhi fell. Bahadur shah and his wife Zinet Mahal, his two sons and a grand-son surrendered. Captain Hodson, shot princes with his own hands, and the king was tried before the martial court. He was held guilty of declaring war against the Queen and the massacre of the British residents. He was, therefore, sent to Rangoon with his family where he died on 7th Septemebr 1862.

The British, after the revolt was over, made great territorial changes in Haryana. Except three small states of Pataudi, Dujana and Loharu, all the other important states like Jhajjar, Dadri, Farrukhanagar, Ballabharh, Buria, Kalsia were confiscated. And the principle of rewarding to those who helped the British Raj and punishment to others who revolted was adopted. Most of the Jagirdars in Haryana helped in British and consequently, they were rewarded for their loyalty. On the other hand, prominent feudal chiefs of Haryana, namely. Abdur Rehman of Jhajjar, Ahmed Ali of Farrukhanagar and Nahar Singh of Ballabharh

were tried and hanged in full public view in Chandni Chowk, Delhi all in the month of January 1958 for spearheading revolt.

In Gurgaon and Hisar districts, more than 368 people were hanged or transported for life imprisonment. In Rohtak, a collective penalty of Rs. 63,000/- was imposed on the people. At Thanesar Rs. 2,35,000/- and at Ambala Rs. 2,53,591/- were forcibly collected as fines⁸⁷.

The region as a whole suffered a lot. It was detached finally- as a punishment measure, from the north-western province and tagged with Punjab in February, 1858. Some of the districts and *tehsils* of the region were reorganized⁸⁸. On the whole, the region remained neglected and become a place for frequent famine, epidemic and an open field for the Charistian missionaries to undertake their dubious activities. In short, the people were reduced to a deplorable and helpless condition. The British left the starving peasantry of Haryana with the only choice of joining the British armies in order to subdue their spirit of patriotism and nationalism. The revolt, however, fostered better communal relationship between Hindus and Muslims. It cut across ethnic and religious and caste boundaries and continued to pose a real challenge to the British Raj. They lived or fought and perished like brothers for a common cause, against a common enemy⁸⁹. There is not a single case where a Muslim was involved to desecrate a temple or a Hindu to destroy a mosque. Because of communal harmony, people stood united. The revolt in fact was a serious effort for the independence of India. However, Bhahadur Shah, a representative of composite culture in the history of India, his heart was not in struggle that was waged by the brave sepoys. He even rebuked the mutineers when they called him in Delhi on May 11, 1857.

The British crown took administration of India directly into its hands a year later in 1858. British continued to rule Haryana till 1947 when India won its independence. For about long 143 years since 1803, British exploited the region to satisfy their colonial greed and imperial designs. They maltreated the people and spared no weapon to their armory to break the brave and indomitable spirit and down their manly morale⁹⁰. Though Haryana helped the British government

by providing recruits and by contributing money and material during war times, (first and second world war), yet the British government paid no attention towards their hardship. The wars completely upset the economic condition of the region. Then several other happenings in the country: Rowlatt Bill agitation in 1917, Gandhi's arrest at Palwal in 1919, again the massacre at Jallian Wala Bagh in Amritsar in the same year, the '*khilapat*' and non-cooperation movement, civil disobedience movement (1930-34), the Quit India movement (1942), all had great impact on the people of this region. The region also saw the several religious and social movements during this period for the revival of old religious and social values which will find mention in the thesis at an appropriate place in chapter five. Another great catastrophe which Haryana region struck with was the civil war in 1947-48. It was in the shape of communal riots and displacement of people during partition times. Communal riots occurred mainly in the districts of Karnal, Gurgaon and Rohtak, where Muslim population was considerable, resulting in killings of people⁹¹.

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CHAPTER – THREE

CHAPTER THREE

SOCIAL CONDITION

This chapter presents a detailed account of social conditions of Haryana region during the period under study. Social structure, social conditions and various other facets of the society have been discussed and evaluated under a few major heads. It is to be clarified that there is a complete dearth of authentic record that can help in drawing an exact picture of social and economic life of Haryana region particularly in the eighteenth century. However, the situation in this respect improved slightly after the British established their rule in the region during the first decade of nineteenth century. However, the British records are also not without bias, ulterior motive and imperial interest. In fact, European narration of events can't be accepted blindly without scrutiny. Similarly, the record of Hindus and Muslims may not help to draw the true picture as there are most extravagant fables about events. Therefore, there was need to collate and blend variety of sources to draw a real and balanced picture of the social attributes, in the region. This is what we have attempted in this chapter.

We begin by saying that the society and culture, during the later Mughal period, was not entirely new or radically different from the culture of the preceding or succeeding periods. The Indian culture in all ages, Haryana being a part, has been fundamentally the same, and the difference, if any, at different points of time are, generally speaking, those of detail and not of essence. From different points of view, the eighteenth century and the first half of nineteenth century has been a period of chaos in the history of Haryana region. Gradual disintegration and ultimate collapse of Mughal empire, their loss of authority, debased character of most of the nobility and exploitative policy of British was all that marred this period. It was a period of dreadful turmoil, social disorder and grievous economic decline. Now we depict the social conditions in terms of social institutions like the family system, marriage, village, *khap* and *tapas*, caste system and caste organization, impact of caste system, position of women in

society, dresses and ornaments, diet pattern, fairs and festivals, folk arts and culture, education, literature and language.

SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

(i) Family :

Family, which is the oldest institution in Haryana as elsewhere in India, is an important social institution. Joint family system had been a way of domestic life in the region. Hindu family in Haryana, during the period under study, consisted of three generations with several collaterals, dwelling together under one roof. The eldest male member conducted all the affairs of the family and his authority and will were held supreme¹. The head of the family was a kind and affectionate person, but if occasion demanded, he would behave harshly. There was a great deal a mutual understanding among various members of the family, the elders being respected by the youngsters². The individual earnings were pooled into the joint coffers for unchallenged administration by the head³. Everyone earned according to his capacity and received according to his needs. In this respect, the joint family system might be regarded as the nearest approach to the ideal of socialistic community. The system did not exist among the Muslims of foreign extraction or descent for the simple reason that according to this the fixed share in property must be divided among the numerous relations of the deceased. But the system, as in vogue among the *Kazilabash Nawabs* of Lahore, whereby one member of the family was appointed as the manager and trustee of the joint property, might be regarded as the nearest approach to the Hindu joint family system. The joint family system was, invariably, in far greater degree among the farmers and trading classes, as the existence of joint business run by the family was a powerful factor aiding the survival of ancient system. The kinship ties were quite strong.

(ii) Marriage :

Marriage has been the most notable social institution in Haryana as anywhere else in India. Inter-caste marriages and liaisons were regarded as illegal and were broken up by the state. Marriage with a person of unknown caste was not approved. Interaction with the person of a wrong caste was regarded as

contaminating. *Nai* (Barber) was called upon to go on formal deputation to arrange the nuptials of the clients. He served as a bearer of message concerning the news of betrothals, weddings and other auspicious events. The responsibility of marrying sons and daughters vested primarily with the parents. Alternatively stated, marriage was a family affair than a personal concern of the marrying couple. The common practice was in favour of an early marriage. It is noteworthy that institution of marriage had a remarkable continuity from early medieval period to the modern period. The sum of money spent on a marriage was usually extravagant and often involved the bride's father into debt. The expenses incurred by the bridegroom's family were also heavy enough. Very often the celebration of marriage caused the utter ruin of both the families⁴.

(iii) The Village:

Village in Haryana formed a very basic enduring unit of social organization. The number of towns and villages in Haryana was 3875 in year 1855. We do not know much about the emergence of these villages but it is certain that the villages in this region came into existence thousands of years ago in the chalcolitic age. According to K.C.Yadav⁵, the basis of village was the peasant proprietors, among whom there existed 'perfect equality' though some amongst them had more *bighas* of land and wealth than others'. In fact, they inhabited the village for the first time. Generally, the peasant of a village had a majority of the same caste. Such villages were established historically by one clan or family. The Villages usually divided into an indeterminate number of superior divisions called *Panas*, seldom exceeding four or five, which are again sub-divided into *Tholas*, of no fixed number. The *Panas* and *Tholas* which happened early after the establishment of the village are supposed to have generally maintained undisturbed⁶. Then come other in-habitants, the *brahman*, the carpenter, the potter, the barbar, the cobbler, *mehtar* to perform various functions and activities for the villagers. The village artisans were almost paid for their professional assistance by the proprietors at a stated allowance of grain from each plough. Blacksmith, carpenter, baraber received one maund each per plough whereas potter, washarman, bearer, musician, sweeper received 20 seers each⁷.

Both the groups, the peasant proprietors and other castes, were locked by economic and religious ties into an intimate inter-dependence, and they knew that neither would or could exist without the other, and therefore, both cared the existence and well-being of each other. That was the village community. Strangers were not admitted to the brotherhood. But during the British rule, the feeling of reluctance to admit strangers was subordinated to the need for meeting immediate demand for land revenue claimed by the government and outsiders and in such circumstances, were allowed to share “rights” which had become burdens⁸. But during the early British time, the village republic started crumbling. The Haryana villages were no longer ‘little republics’ and contrary to Metcalfe claim⁹. At no point of time, sovereignty was vested in the people and they had no say in economic matters, they were not consulted in fixing the revenues, imposing taxes, and other allied subjects. They had nothing to do with the framing of laws; even their tacit opinion and will was not ascertained in legal matters which directly affected their lives. They had no fundamental rights¹⁰. The villages were not always self-sufficient in various commodities and services, as is usually believed. Even small articles as salt, sugar, metallic vessels, cattle feed, cotton and many other things of daily use were also supplied from towns.

Corruption was prevalent in the administration. The exaction of official perquisites or gratitudes from the public by the officials and their subordinates were universal and admitted practice. Money was given for different kinds of favours. This pressure was passed from the Emperor downwards to the peasant each social grade trying and squeeze out of the class below itself what it had to pay as present to the rank above, the cultivator of the social and trade being the victims in the last report¹¹.

(iv) Thapa :

Thapa is another institution that emerged when a community in a village find it inconvenient for them all to live together. Then a part of the community would find a new village and the process would continue and tract would have cluster of villages springing originally from one parent village. The group of villages so bound together by common descent formed a *thapa*. The original

village, however small, is always acknowledged as the head village. Then from *thapa*, another extended institution 'Sarvakhapa' was also in operation.

(v) Sarvakhapa :

Sarvakhapa, was usually an aggregate of several *thapas* and *Sarvakhapas* of various *Khapas*. They assembled from time to time to decide the matters of common interest to their people. This system is still in practice in certain castes in Haryana especially among the Jats. The social structure of the village was disrupted due to the diminished role of *Panchayat*. The dominant groups of people in the village constituted the village *Panchayat* who managed village affairs and local resources. The power of the village community and its representative council, the *Panchayats* has been increasingly encroached upon and weakened by official administration and judicial authorities particularly under British rule. The status of the village functionaries thus underwent a rapid change. They ceased to be answerable to the village community of which they had once been the representatives as well as servants during Mughal period. By the turn of nineteenth century, the position of this proprietary body as an authority over individual members and other inhabitants had considerably dwindled though it did not altogether succumb to the new powerful forces¹². The revival of village *Panchayat* in the region was done again through the *Panchayat* Act of 1921. This Act aimed at restoring to the *Panchayat* its old authority, where it still exists, and to revive it in villages where it had died out but where the corporate feeling of the village community still survived¹³.

CASTE SYSTEM AND ITS ORGANISATION

One of the corner stones of the civilization of India, the civilization which is as ancient as that of Egypt, is the institution of caste¹⁴. The caste holds a prominent place in the economy of Indian life, and has been the distinguishing mark of the civilization of India since the dawn of history. In early times, the society was divided into four classes, namely, (1) The Brahmans the priestly class, which cultivated learning and spiritual ideas, (2) the Kashatriyas – the fighting or the ruling class (3) the Vaisyas – trading and the agricultural class and (4) Sudras – the common folk who served their superiors and constituted the

lowest strata of society. So in its original form, it was a class system rather than a caste system. The whole basis of diversity of caste is diversity of occupation and profession. Castes are also created on the basis of colonies or area denoting their origin like Haryanvi, Punjabi, Kashmiri, Bengali, Purbi etc. The men in Bagar are commonly known as Bagri irrespective of whether they are Jats or Rajputs. Similarly, there are caste classification based on trade and art like Darzis, Lohar, Kumhar, Mallah, Nai, Fakir, Teli, Bania, Sonar¹⁵. But with the passage of time, castes were created with these classes and now there are nearly three thousand castes and sub-castes in India¹⁶. For the sake of analysis, we now proceed to give an account of castes within three major religions in Haryana i.e. Hindu castes, Muslim castes and Sikh castes.

(i) The Hindu Castes:

There are numerous prominent castes in Hindu religion. *Brahamans* - the priestly castes, occupy an important place in social hierarchy in Haryana as anywhere else. These castes have been divided into five main groups : the Gaurs, Saraswats, Khandelwals, Dhimas and Chaurasias,. According to their belief, *Brahamans* came here originally from Bengal. The Saraswats were, however, the original settlers of the region coming from *Sarasvati* valley. In the earlier age, they were of high rank, but since medieval times, they are being treated apparently below the Gaurs - who untill recently neither ate, drank nor intermarried with them. The Kandelwals and Dhimas, who probably immigrated from Rajasthan in the early medieval times, are ranked a little below the Gaurs and Saraswats. Chaurasias were named as they received a gift of *chaurasi* (84) villages for their assisting the Janamejaya's holocaust of snakes. The *Brahmans* of all three groups further have hundreds of gotras such as *Bhardwaj*, Vashistha, Parashar, Sandalya, Gautam etc. Brahman in Haryana settled in all villages working as *purohits* and also adopted agriculture and other professions. Brahmans enjoyed high esteem in all socio-religious occasions. There are other castes of Brahmans like Vyasa, Gujrati and Dakuts also¹⁷. Dakuts claim to have come from Agroha in Hisar. Now their number has dwindled. Tyagis are another

such castes concentrated in Karnal and Kurukshetra. According to one view, they are probably the oldest inhabitants of the upper Yamuna Khadar¹⁸.

Next to Brahmins, in order of social hierarchy, come the Banias. They are divided into three main divisions : Agarwals, Oswals and Mahesawaris. All the three divisions claim their origin from Rajasthan and perhaps migrated from there in the early medieval times. Like Brahmins, the Banias also lived in almost every village and towns in Haryana, controlling business, trade and banking. They are mostly well-off and command respect in the society¹⁹.

Jats, Rajputs, Chauhans, Ahirs - the peasant castes, had third position in the social hierarchy. Sources reveal that the Jats constituted a sizeable population of Haryana during the period of our study. The question of the origin of Jats²⁰ is a matter of intense debate among the scholars. According to one view, they are the descendents of Indian Aryans. The Jat tribes' name rounded in the scholarly work of Col. Tod like that of Geeta, yuti and yetha of the *oxur* region²¹. Sir H. Risley declared that the Jats were the true representatives of the Vedic Aryans. He states that they are mostly tall, their complexion fair, eyes dark, hair on face plentiful, head long, more narrow and prominent but not very long and if appearance goes for anything, the Jats could not but be Aryans²². They are hospitable and rescue those in distress. In the hour of misfortune, after the fearful wreck of the magnificent Maratha army at Panipat, Jat welcomed the fleeing soldiers and provided medicine, clothes and food for their relief²³. They concentrated in Sonapat, Rohtak, Jind, Hisar, Sirsa and Bhiwani. According to 1881 census, Jats constituted 33 per cent, 26 per cent and 25.3 per cent of the total population in Rohtak, Sirsa and Hisar districts respectively²⁴. They divided themselves in clans, khaps and gotras. Malik, Dahiya, Sangwan, Dalal are the main gotras of Jats. The Jats are a bold peasantry accustomed to handle the ploughshare and wield the sword with equal readiness and success, second to no other race in industry and courage. They were mainly agriculturists and warriors and also tried to establish following the contemporary trend, they tried to establish autonomous zone. In the social hierarchy, they occupied the same position as is claimed by other cultivating castes such as Ahirs, Gujars, Rajputs and Rors²⁵.

They eat and smoke with all these castes on all occasions without discrimination and reservation.

Ahirs²⁶, (Yadavs), the next important caste, were concentrated in the region around Rewari and Narnaul. their number was negligible in rest of Haryana. We can't say for certain when were the Ahirs settled in Haryana. Tall, wiry and smart, the Ahirs make first rate agriculturists. They are all Hindus and chiefly worship Lord Krishna. Their birth, death and marriage ceremonies, resemble those of the Jats, Gujars and Rors. Like Ahirs, Gujars²⁷ also constituted important segment of population around Aravali hills in the south and the Shivalik in the north. They had been lovers of free living and hence always in revolt against the rulers of Delhi. Gujars have four main classes - Rawals, Chhokars, Chauhans and Kabsans. They are of the same social standing as the Jat, Ahir, Ror, etc. all eating and drinking in common without any reservation. An old proverb says : 'The Jat, Gujar, Ahir and Golas are all four hail fellows, well met²⁸.

Rajputs were scattered throughout the state. Their popular classes are Tanwars, Chauhans, Mandhars. Rajput occupied important position in Haryana during early and also late Mughal period. They made first soldiers and ruled Haryana in the early medieval times. The other important peasant castes are Rors and Sainis. Rors are settled in Kurukshetra, Karnal and Kaithal, where they now have 84 villages. The Rors are good farmers and stand on the same social footing as the Jats, Ahirs, Rajputs and Gujars²⁹. The artisan castes, Sudars, Barhis, Lohars and Kumhars occupied next position in the caste hierarchy forming the lowest ranking among the Hindus. Sudars also came to have a large number of castes in the period of study. The process which led to the multiplication of Sudra caste was the transformation of crafts into castes and the absorption of tribal people in the main stream due to agrarian expansion. This period, to some extent, was, transitional period in terms of population. Anyway, the Sudra was not at all a homogeneous caste but a vast heterogeneous community comprising the majority of agriculture labourers. servants, weavers, menial workers and

attendants. Sudras groaned under the pressure of social tyranny and were reduced to the status of untouchables during the period under review.

(ii) The Muslim Castes :

Islam does not allow casteism but it was there in actual practice³⁰. The Muslim society is, broadly speaking, stratified into divisions³¹ : Ashraf (higher castes) and Ajlaf (lower castes). The Ashrafs are the Sayeds, Sheikhs, Mughals, Pathans and Rajputs, the Ajlas comprise rest of castes³². As pointed out, Sayeds occupy the highest place in the society. Besides being priests, the Sayeds possessed land and performed farming, although they did not prove expert in the latter profession. Sheikhs in Haryana mostly came from Arabia. Mughals, during the period under review were overwhelmingly, in large number in army and other services and some did take to agriculture also. They made good soldiers and policemen³³. The Pathans scattered all over the region here during the Sultanate period. Their number, however, was not large in Haryana. Rajputs scattered all over the region but more so in Sirsa and Hisar. They were like Meos of today. They celebrated many Hindu festivals, like Holi, Diwali, Janamashtmi and Dusshera. Ranghars were also an important caste of the region in that period. They were Rajputs, who had embraced Islam during the early medieval times. They lived in large villages in the districts of Rohtak, Hisar and Karnal. Poor and needy, they took to anti-social activities almost everywhere³⁴. Muslim Gujars, were settled in the low lying lands along the Yamuna in Haryana. They took to cattle grazing.

Meos was an important caste, settled in the present districts of Faridabad and Gurgaon. The tract where they lived is known as Mewat. Meos are a happy combination of Hinduism and Islam. Their village deities are the same as those of Hindus. On the day of Amawasya, Meos, Jats, Ahirs, Gujars, etc. desist from labour. Meos are further divided into gotras, which are 52 in number³⁵. Their main occupation has been agriculture. Recently, the Haryana Government in order to give due importance to Mewatis, a new district namely Mewat has been carved out in Haryana with Nuh as its headquarters.

(iii) The Sikh Castes :

Sikhs were next to Muslims who came to Haryana in the beginning of eighteenth century. They settled in Ambala, Kurukshetra, Panipat and Karnal. Sikhism like Islam does not accept caste divisions, but there existed division in practice. A greater population of Sikhs in upper parts, who were involved in agriculture, are termed as Jat Sikhs. There are some Gujars, Kambojs and Sainis, too, who are also peasants like Jats. Sikhs in towns and cities were Khatries and Aroras. The artisan castes - the Kumhars, Lohars, Tarkhans, and Darzis were also found in small number. Besides, there were Majhabi Sikhs of lower castes called Chmars, Chhimbas, Julahan, and Ramdasis.

(iv) The Castes in Other Religions :

Besides the above mentioned castes in different religions, there were Jainis and Buddhists also. Jains were generally well off. In social context, they do not differ much from the Hindu Banias. There are few villages of Jat Jains around Jind who were agriculturists. Buddhists and Christians lived in the region mostly in towns and cities. They were also divided into a number of castes like Hindus. It is clear from above description that Haryanvi society was divided into a number of castes at that time just as in the present.

Besides, the society was also divided into several distinctive classes, cutting across caste affiliations. There were three well defined classes : the upper, middle and lower. A number of *rajās*, feudal, *nawabs* and *jagirdars* formed the first class, their professional servants formed the middle class, and the rest fell in lower classes. After some time, especially after the advent of the British in Haryana, (1803), the situation slightly changed. The village people serving in army bettered their financial position through savings and *inams* and they pushed themselves from the lower classes to the middle ones³⁶.

Impact of Caste System :

The positive as well as negative effects of caste system upon the social and economic life in Haryana are too many. Caste had some advantages. It tied together men of the social class; it promoted cleanliness, and was a check in certain directions on moral conduct. The caste system had evil effects as well. In

fact, advantages were far more than counterbalanced by its pernicious effects. It had produced division in the society, it made honest manual labour contemptible in the region, it had brought on a physical degeneracy by confining marriage within narrow circles; it checked internal and external commerce; it was a source of conservatism in everything; it suppressed the development of indivisibility and independence of character³⁷. Further, the system helped in breeding other injurious customs, such as early marriage, it allowed opportunity of mental and spiritual culture only to a limited few, it had denied these opportunities to the majority of the lower class, and consequently it had made the country fit for foreign slavery by previously enslaving the people to the most abject Brahmanical tyranny³⁸. It was hardly astonishing therefore, that one of the basic principles of all the progressive movements in the region during the period was to fight the caste system.

As we see, the rigid caste system served as a brake on economic development to the extent it hampered horizontal flexibility. But the Mughal administration appeared to be neutral in respect of caste monopolies of occupation. There remained some possibilities of adjustment also within the caste system. Tailors, for example, could take up the profession of dyers. However, the fundamental did not change.

WOMEN IN THE SOCIETY

There had been definite deterioration in the position of women in the centuries that followed the Vedic age. But in all these periods, there was no seclusion of women. However, the condition of the women in Mughal period in the society was far from satisfactory. They were expected to be subjected to men all their lives, first to fathers and brothers then to their husbands, and lastly to their sons³⁹. Woman was distinctly subordinate to the essence of her life consisted of service of the male and dependence upon him. The societal laws and customs stamped her with a sort of mental deficiency. The woman's position was most unpleasant from her birth to her death. As the parents of a girl had to give a large dowry to the bridegroom's family, girl babies were not so welcome as boys and were not so well looked after. If not killed in infancy, girl was given away to

a husband in an indissoluble tie. Etiquette demanded of woman that she should first serve the meals to her husband and other elderly members of the household and then eat herself. She had to follow her husband at a respectable distance while walking. Thus, ideologically woman was considered to be completely inferior species, inferior to the male, having no personality of her own. Socially, she was kept in a state of subjection, denied her rights and suppressed and oppressed. In regard to her moral nature, woman was regarded as a temptress, a being whose sole aim was to divert man from the virtuous path. Women's main objective was considered to minister to men's physical pleasure and wants. Despite that she was excluded from every position of power with its own structure and institution, as a mother in Hindu family, she was marked out for special devotion.

Purdah system had become an established system both among the Hindus and the Muslim women. The general insecurity and lawlessness which prevailed at that time made this system more tight. If for any reason, a Muslim lady of rank discarded, purdah even for a temporary period, the consequences for her were disastrous. Once a Amir, renounced his wife when her purdah was broken when she jumped from the back of an elephant who had run amuck. Prudah was, however, less among Hindu women, whereas Muslim women were required to cover themselves from head to foot, for Hindu, it was enough to have a sheet or *dopatha* to cover their heads. This was less so among the lower stratum of society as they were expected to help their husbands in all external pursuits and internal economy. It would be appropriate to point out three more heinous customs to illustrate the place of woman in society. These are : Infanticide, girl child marriage and *sati* or widow burning.

Killing of the female child was not common in all castes. This practice, perhaps, first came into the Chauhan Rajputs, who killed their daughters lest they fell prey to the Muslim invaders. Another cause was the rise of dowry. Thus, out of pride, in conjunction with the fear of poverty and fear of disgrace, made the killing of the infants extremely barbaric. At many places, the female child was destroyed after birth by filling the mouth with cow dung or by administering

opium or by not feeding the female child. This practice, though a crime, was abolished in the nineteenth century. It is another matter that it continued secretly though lesser in Haryana and Punjab. The present adverse sex ratio in Punjab and Haryana is the legacy of this fact. This practice was vogue in Punjab and Haryana among certain castes at few places. The Bedis of Jullundur were so accustomed to it that anybody among them who kept a daughter was excommunicated⁴⁰.

Girl child marriage was in practice in those days. Daughters of the villages do not marry therein⁴¹. Husbands from other villages used them. Widow remarriage was forbidden among Hindus in Punjab excepting certain, castes. Jats, however, in Haryana allowed widow remarriage. Brahmans in certain places practiced it and also among lower grade of Khatris. The ceremony employed was a less formal one known under the name of *Karewa*. The custom of non marriage of widows among the Hindus condemned the widows to lifelong misery and also the cause of a great deal of crime. Some young widows, who gave way to their passion and became pregnant, either procured abortion, or killed their children as soon as they were born, to avoid dishonor⁴². The Govt. of India legalized the remarriage of Hindu Act by passing an Act known as Act XV 1856. The marriage of a widow was known as *Kikhah Sau* among the Muslims⁴³.

The treatment of women in India reached its climax in *sati* or widow burning. The sons should roast their mothers alive when they became widow, seems too horrible an idea to enter the mind⁴⁴. *Sati* was practiced not by Hindus alone but by Sikhs too, and when Ranjit Singh died, four of his wives and seven of his female slaves committed themselves to the flames with his body⁴⁵. Before the annexation of Punjab in 1849, Lord William Bantnick had in 1829, after suitable enquiries, passed a regulation declaring the practice of *Sati* illegal and punishable in the criminal courts. Stray cases were still repeated at times, but on the whole, the horrible custom was suppressed. It was construed that it was an insult to the Hindu religion to punish a woman who wished to burn herself alive with her husband in accordance with her husband in accordance with the tenets of her religion⁴⁶.

DRESSES AND ORNAMENTS

(i) Men's Dress :

The dress of the people was, on the whole, of the simplest kind and it was made entirely of cotton cloth. The wardrobe of men in the rural areas comprised the *dhoti*, *tehmat*, the *pyjamas* or the loin cloth as the lower garment and the shirt as the upper. The *dhoti*, a piece of cotton cloth generally five yards in length, was worn by the Hindus in the region of Haryana. The *tehmat* or *majhla*, usually worn by Muslims, was a sheet of cotton cloth three yards long and one yard and half wide and was wrapped round the lileons, reaching the ankles. In many castes, especially among those who had some or the other official life used *pyjamas*, which were fairly loose upto the knees, but fitted rather tightly below upto ankle where they rested in large number of horizontal⁴⁷. *Angarka*, a kind of coat with a skirt, worn by Muslim of the higher rank. *Kamri* which was same as an '*angarka*' only half the length, opened down the middle fastned by strings below the breast. It was worn by a caste called "Bajree" in Sirsa. In rural areas, people had an iron pipe, a tobacco pouch with Its flint and also a bowel in the breast of his coat used as a drinking vessel. In the cold weather, waist coat or lower coat wadded with cotton was worn. Sometimes people used a sheet of double-woven cotton or a woolen blanket. Some also used a light quilt called *dulai* or *razai*. Sometimes the trousers were also padded with cotton⁴⁸. The head dress of men in the region was usually a turban, (*pagri safa*). The size of the turban and also the design depended much on the social position of the wearer. The English hat was popular with the educated classes only. As a rule, Muslims avoided red, while Hindu avoided blue, though this colour was very popular among Akali Sikhs. The Sikhs, particularly, according to Charles Massion, to their honour were very clean in their liner, in which particular they advantageously differ from their Musalman counterparts.

(ii) Women's Dress :

Hindu women wore *ghagara* or *lehnga* (skirt) of cotton and a *kurti* or shirt. In the south east of the region, married women usually wore a bodice called *angiya* or *choli* which supported the breast and left the lower portion of the trunk

naked⁴⁹. The favourite apparel of the Muslim ladies was *shalwar* and a loose shirt. The dress was also common among the Hindu and Sikh woman. A scarf named variously as chuni, chuneriya, dopatta, orhni was only head-gear of the woman. The wrap or chadar was universally worn, and the pardha system compelled most Muslim, and many Hindu and Sikh ladies of the superior classes, to wear, when compelled to leave the house, an ungainly and uncomfortable veil (burka) which covered the whole body⁵⁰. Minor variations in dress worn both by men and women too many to be discussed here.

(iii) Ornaments :

Women were very fond of Jewellery. Women were anxious to adorn or even load themselves with a variety of bulky ornaments. Ladies bedecked every limb of their bodies from head to foot with different types of ornaments. A woman's social position in the region was greatly determined by her jewels. Such ornaments were made of all sorts of material from the cheapest bangles made of lac pebbles, rough bits of amber, red corol glass or brass, to the most valuable gold necklace, thickly studded with pearls and diamonds. The kind of jewellery wore depended on the economic power of the wearer and the material varied from the cheapest trinkets made of lac, glass or brass to the most valuable gold necklaces studded with pearls and diamonds.

Mr Baden Powell gave a list of 99 names for ornaments in 1872, and this list was by no means exhaustive⁵¹. There were ornaments for the arms, wrists, fingers, feet, ankles, nose, ears, neck and head. Binduli, mang, karnphool, bali, bichwah nath, mukat, besar laung, necklace, bazuband, tad, gajrah, kangan, bracelet, churis, mekhala, Jhanjar, tagri, karula, pajeb, hathful, rings, Jehar, ghunghru, payal. Jhalera, bujni, dande, newri, pati etc. Some Hindus even had their upper teeth pierced and little spikes of gold inserted so that, when they had died there might be no difficulty in carrying out the custom of putting in the mouth gold, Ganga water, and a spring of Tulsi plant. Churis (bangles) of kanch (glass) were worn by both the Hindu and Muslim women. Among the latter, they were always worn by a bride on marriage⁵².

Men did not show much liking for jewellery. Muslims were usually against ornaments, some of them, however, put on amulets. Hindus on the other hand, adorned themselves with ear and finger rings only. Rajput put on bracelets as well. All the Mughal Emperors except Aurangzeb adorned themselves with rich jewellery on important occasions. However, it was a common practice to bedeck the infants with silver and gold ornaments (chand, tagri) which often led to child lifting and other ghastly crimes.

DIET PATTERN :

The diet of Haryanvis during the period of our study was simple. There was a marked sameness about the diet of the people⁵³. The usual food of the people consisted of gram wheat, barley bajra, rice and Jawar. Rice and wheat were popular cereals consumed in many forms. In the northern part, wheat and rice, and bajra in the south part of Haryana were the staple food articles. Gram was also eaten either parched or in the form of dal⁵⁴. Rice cooked in milk and mixed with sugar and *ghee* (*Kheer*) was a very popular dish. Similarly, *halwa* (water sugar and flour ghee mixture) was quite popular, especially on special occasions and festivals. Pulses were produced in abundance in the region. Since the region was full of cattle wealth in the period, so milk, ghee, curd and butter were consumed by the people in plenty. On the delivery of child, women consumed considerable amount of milk, ghee and other ghee made products such as 'goond'. The saying relating to Haryana diet is quite popular 'Haryana', *jit dudha dahi ka khana*'. Since the region was also very rich in sugarcane production, the people naturally used various types of products made of sugarcane. People, therefore, consumed lot of gur, shaker, Jaggery and khand all produced locally. In the month of Sawan around Teej, products prepared with mustered oil such as pure, suhali, gulgula, shakarpare, were used. Khichri, dalia, rabri were also popular.

Notably, there was a marked sameness about the diet of the people, and bulk was stressed more than variety and balance. Tea as of now was not a popular drink in rural areas. The Muslim and Sikh took meat when they could

afford it, but to the majority of Hindus, animal meat was tabooed. Aerated water and shrbat were the favourite cold drinks of the people in summer.

The village folk were very fond of wines and spirits. Bhang, tobacco and opium were other intoxicants, where only limited people indulged. The strict prohibition enforced by almost all the Mughal kings was no less a factor in discouraging the use of wine amongst the people. Severe punishments were inflicted for excessive drinking and disorderly conduct. According to M.L. Darling, drunkenness constituted one of the major evils of village life, one of the chief causes of crime and ruin of families⁵⁵. The nobles, however, indulged in heavy drinking and many of them fell victims to alcohol. While all other Mughal emperors took wine several times a day, Aurangzeb totally abstained from it. Opium was in use among a large number of people especially Muhammandans and Rajputs. Tobacco also gained rapid popularity among common people soon after its introduction in India in 1605, by the Portuguese. Hukka was a popular household item. It was the most common mode of smoking especially in the villages⁵⁶. If it was not handy to be taken from place to place and as fire was not easily available, bidi was the poorman's luxury and cigarettes were confined to the official classes. Smoking among women was very rare. Betel chewing was uncommon in Haryana. Smoking was very common among the Hindus and Muslims. The Sikhs were forbidden by the religion to indulge in it.

The utensils used in Hindu kitchen were all made of brass or bronze while those of Muhammadans were earthen or copper wares. The Mughal kings and nobles used gold or silver utensils and were fond of precious China glassware. Aurangzeb, however, used earthen or copper vessels. Hindus paid great attention to cleanliness and a special place called '*Chauka Chuhla or Rasoi*' invariably rubbed over with cow-dung was reserved for cooking meals, which none was allowed to enter with shoes on. Bathing was a common practice before meals. Wives did not make it a custom to join their husbands or menfolk while taking food. They took separately. The kitchen and table manners of the Muhammadans were quite simple, though not always as clean as those of Hindus.

They were free to cook wherever and whenever they liked and eat everything except the flesh of swine⁵⁷

FAIRS AND FESTIVALS

Both the communities, Hindus and Muslims had a large number of fairs and festivals which they celebrated with great fervour and gaiety during later Mughal period in the Haryana region. There was general uniformity in their observance for all the parts of Haryana. Although in some cases there were local variations as well. Decoration, illumination, fire works, splendid processions, abundant display of gold, silver, pearls, diamonds, and jewels, observed by Muslims in the region in the celebration of these festivals were the natural consequence of their contact with the Hindu culture. The enlightened rulers like Akbar and Jahangir adopted some of the Hindu festivals and gave them a place in their court calendar. Holi, Dashera and Vasant Panchami were associated with court celebration. Although based on different religious affiliations different kinds of festivals were celebrated by the Muslims and non-Muslims population, there is no reason to believe that these two segments of rural population did not participate in each other festivals. But Aurangzeb discontinued the celebration of several festivals and followed a reverse course. He banned most of the Hindu and Persian festivals in the court. There was not a single professional theatre in the entire Punjab including Haryana region⁵⁸.

Periodical fairs were held at several places of Hindu pilgrimage to which Hindu men, women and children thronged in large numbers. Local fairs to perpetuate the memory of some great personality of Hindu, Muslim or Sikh, were also arranged where large local area persons attended. In these fairs, refreshment stall were set up and booths were erected to which housewives, thrifty and gay, came from places to furnish their houses or replenish their cupboards, but they concentrated more on merriment and eating than on buying durable goods. Then there were many sources of their entertainment in these fairs. Rope dancers and acrobats called *nats* who entertained the audience with their wonderful feasts; jugglers, snake charmers and men with performing bears and monkeys to wheedle a few pice out of the pocket of the spectators.

Occasionally, touring circus companies from south India visited these fairs and gave shows in huge tents. Circus was indeed a popular event in these fairs where men, women and children thronged to it in large numbers. Wrestling and sports were also organized during fair days.

Some important fairs of Haryana during the period which still continue are ; Gopalmochan fair near Bilaspur in the Jagadhari Tehsil, Mela Devi fair at Beri in Jhajjar district, Gugga Nawmi all over Haryana, Masani fair in honour of the goddess of small pox at Gurgaon, Basdoda on the eve of Somwati Amawas fair of Saint Shah Choka in Firozpur-Jhiraka.

It is to be noted that the basis for Hindu festivals had been mostly mythological, historical and astronomical. Some other festivals like Vasant Panchmi and Holi were observed owing to change of the seasons. Of the Hindus, most important festivals were Dussehra, Diwali, Janamashtami and Ram Nawmi. As mentioned, the observance of all these festivals was uniform throughout the region, but slight local variations in their celebration were also discovered. The Sikhs did show some interest in the observance of Hindu festivals but their other great festivals were connected with the life and work of their *Gurus*. They observed every year the martyrdom day of Guru Arjun Dev, Guru Teg Bahadur and the sons of Guru Gobind Singh. The celebrations of the birth day of Guru Nanak, the founder of Sikhism, was the greatest of their festivals. Initially, the Hindus participated in the religious festivals of Sikhs, but later their interest in these fairs dwindled.

As to Muslim fairs, their number is small but were celebrated with full pump and show. Most of these festivals were connected with anniversaries of some of the important events in the early history of Islam. Id-ul-Zuha or Bakar Id was considered the most auspicious of the festivals of the Muslims. Annual fairs called U'rs were also held in memory of Muslim saints and attracted large number of devotees to their shrines. The followers of the *Pir* or the saint sang *qawalis* and many of them worked themselves into a state of rapturous ecstasy called *hal*. These festivals although religious in content, offered a lot of fun and frolick to the ordinary people and enthused them with zeal and excitement. Mushairas or poetic

symposia frequently arranged as a part of celebration of these festivals, provided recreation and moral lesson to the audience and devotees.

FOLK ARTS AND CULTURE

Folk arts and culture comprise legends, folktales, folksongs, dancing and theatre, paintings etc.

(i) Legends :

Haryana has a rich cultural heritage. Its folk culture is known and well acknowledged. Folklore comprises legends, ballades, folktales and folksongs. Folklore tend to cover all aspects of life of the common man. This is a traditional method of presenting culture from one generation to another in a composite manner. Legends are most important form of folk entertainment in Haryana. They are in the shape of ballades, folktales and folksongs. Haryana had hundred of legends based on epic, scripture. Mahabharata and Puran. The legends of love and valour were galore in Haryana. The legends like Draupadi Cheerharan, Nala-Damyanti, Raja Harishchander, Bhatrihari, Raja Bhoj, Gorakhnath, Puran Bhagat, Gopichand, Nihalde etc. Some of the legends have such a great treasure of stories that their singing continues for months together. The singing of these legends remained a very popular media of entertainment in Haryana villages through the ages. The theme of these legends also remained a source of entertainment in the shape of folk musical drama called *Swang*. According to Sir Richard, who compiled legends of Punjab more than one hundred years ago now, seven-tenth legends have their origin in Haryana and only three-tenth in Punjab. This amply proves that folklore is deeply entrenched in the land of Haryana. Besides legends and ballads, Alha singhing also helped to preserve the heroic accounts of Alha Uddal and their clan during early medieval period of Prithvi Raj Chauhan's time. Alha has a typical expression of patriotism in its form and content.

(ii) Folk Tales :

There were countless folk tales prevalent in seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and which still go on. Village old women had their own folk tales for the small grand children. 'Singhasan Battisi' 'Baital Pachchisi' 'Jatak Kathan' ,

‘PanchTantra, ‘Tota Meina’ which are not only entertaining but also provide one or other moral lesson to the listeners. Proverbs and slogans depicting life and culture of the people of Haryana are an integral part of folk tales and folk songs depicting human character and their relations with nature, animals, birds, earth, water etc.

(iii) Folk Songs :

Folk songs depicting all aspects of life in its manifestation were quite popular. These are songs of all hues and culture. Village women folk are in fact the custodian of these songs. A big number of songs are connected to Phagun, Sawan and Kartik⁵⁹. There are ritual songs, love songs, ceremonial songs, wedding songs, songs of chivalry, patriotic songs etc.

Few examples are given here:

Teej’s songs are sung in the month of sawan.

*“Teeja ka teuhar rit sa sawan ki,
Khari Jhool pe matke chhori bahman ki,
Kuan tun ouchi peeng chhadawa
Kaun par ka naar thrao
Yah laraj laraj ka dali jamun ki”*

(It is a festival of teej and the season of ‘sawan’. The Brahman girl is playing pranks, standing on the swing, why do you swing so high? If you fall, it will break your neck. The branches of the Jamun tree are all trembling).

*“Jhulan jangi hai ma meri bag mein,
Aye re kao sang saheli chaar.*

(My own mother, I am going to swing in the garden. A fe of my companions have also come)

Phalgun songs are also very powerful

*“Jab sajan hee pradesh gai mastana ‘Fagun’ kaiun aya,
Jab fool mere man Ka murjaya lajmana Fagun Kaiu aya”*

(Why the month of ‘Fagun’ has arrived when my husband is in foreign land. The flower of my heart has dried, why the shameless ‘Fagun’ has arrived?”

“Kachi ambhi gadrai Saman main,

*Budhi ree lugai mastai 'Fagun' mein,
Kahiyo ree us sasur mere ne,
bin ghali leja 'Fagun' mein"*

(Unripe mango is growing in the month of 'saman', old women are in joyous and intoxicant mood in Fagun. Newly married girl through messenger by her father-in-law in the month of Fagun requests to take her to his residence in the month of Fagun as she can't bear the pangs of separation).

On the birth of a girl child:

*"Jis din lado tera janm hoye tha, Hoi aai bajar ki rat,
Jis din lala tera janam hoi tha, hoi thee soraan ki rat".*

(Dear daughter, it was just like a dreadful night when you were born, but it was a golden night when a son was born)

The British motivated Haryanvis to join their army:

*"Bharti ho lo re bhar khare rangroot,
hare mile na tuti juti, ore mile fullboot.*

(Oh young men join army, here you don't get even a broken shoes but there you will get full-sized new-brand shoes)

At the time of marriage:

*"Kahe ko bahai videsh re babul mere,
Hum hai re babul mundere ki chirya,
Kankri mare ur jai re babul mere".*

(Oh father, why have you married me off to a distant place. We are just like sparrow perching on the parapet of a roof who fly with the throwing of small pebble)

About diet:

*"Desa mein des Haryana,
Jit dudh dahi ka khana".*

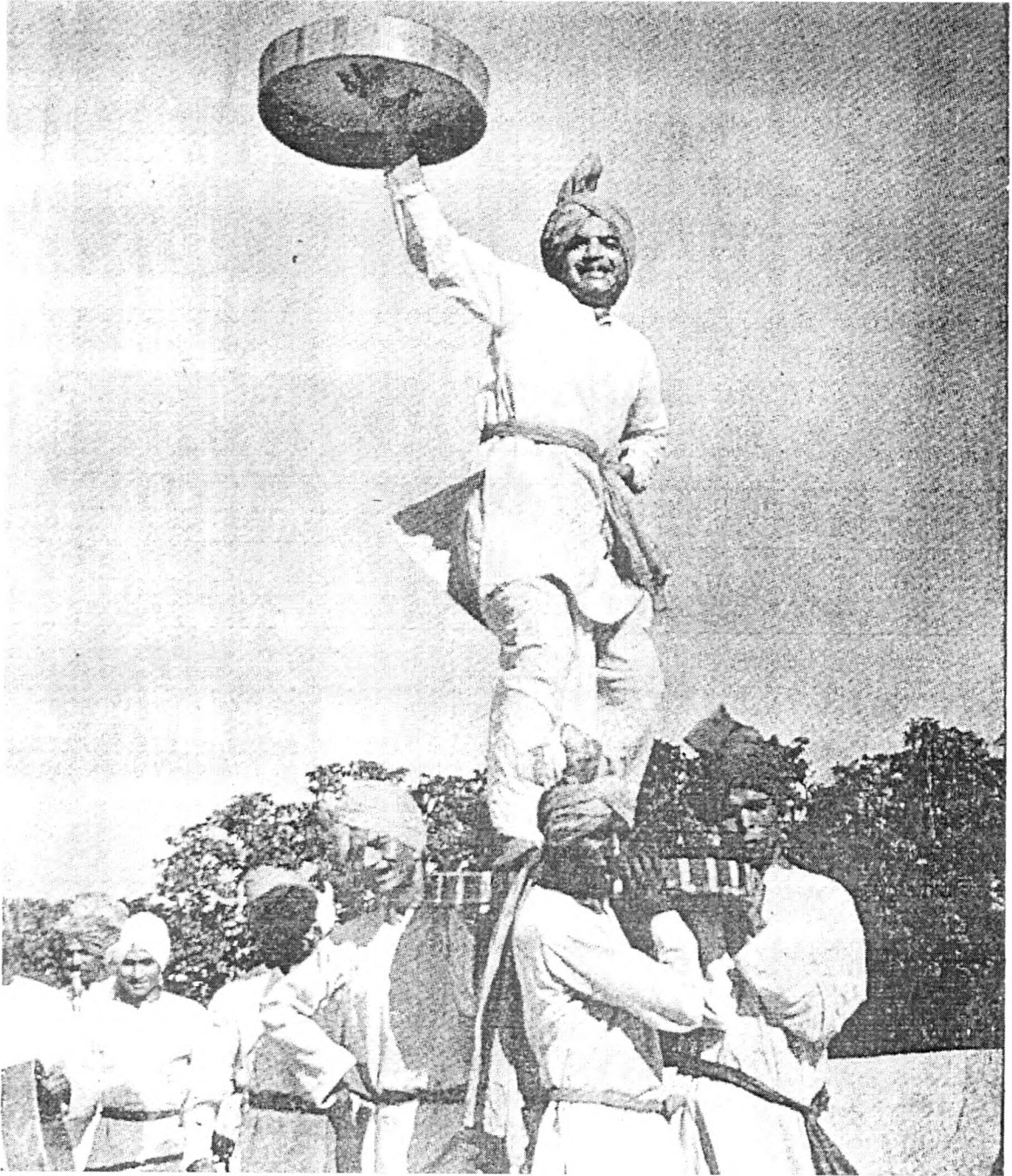
(Among all the places, Haryana occupies a distinct position, it is a place where diet is full of milk and curd)

(iv) Dancing and Theatre :

The folk dance flourished in Haryana during this period. The most favourite folk dances of the Haryana are Dhamyal or Dhap, Bhangra. In Dhamyal dance, only males participate and it forms a part of the Holi celebrations⁶⁰. The dancers assume a kneeling pose as if deeply absorbed in meditation and longing for the peace of the soul. The dance is interspersed with folk-songs of some historical, social or romantic significance. It is a big entertainment. Gidha dance proceeds in a circular movement, on the rhythm of clapping, in harmony with the steps. It is an exclusively women's dance though men are sometimes allowed to participate if they happen to be their very near relatives⁶¹. The songs are indispensable. These songs talk of marriage, love, pangs of separation, the heroes and heroines of the popular Punjabi romance and various other social subjects.

In the villages, crude plays called 'swangs' were performed by professional castes like Bhats, Bhands and Nats. These strolling actors were always on move from one village to another and gave performances free of admission fee. There are references to such entertaining performances in the *Harshacharita* of Bana⁶². The Swang in its present form is of very late origin, it was staged around 1700⁶³. A local genius Krishna Lal Bhat was the originator of Swang⁶⁴. Tan Sangi and Baba Haraidas were the composers of Swangs like '*Rukmani Vivah*' and '*Sang Raja Rattan Senka*' respectively. The swangs had been in practice since old times in Haryana⁶⁵. Ali Bax of Rewari was a notable early pioneer in the art of swang. The play covered a variety of subjects including religious. It was also an occasion for love songs and loose talk. These dramatic parties were supported by the village community or by a wealthy person who wanted to celebrate a wedding, the birth of a child or some other auspicious event in the family. The party's equipments were very simple like, harmonium, dholak, damru, bansri, chimta, khartal and gharwa. There was no drop curtains no painted scenery whatsoever. "These plays do not need a stage, but are performed on the ground (a raised platform); there's no scenery- the actors when not engaged keep their seats, and rise when their turn comes to speak. Naqqals or joker need to play an important role in swang on his amused audience with his

Dhamyal Dance



rustic joke and wits. Besides swangs, bhajan Mandlis were also popular style of entertainment. The institution has its origin in the Sabd Mandlis of Bhakti Movement. Nath, Jogis and Kabir panthis used to sing Guru Banis on Ek Tara and Khartal.

Besides Swang, Ramlila was also in vogue in this period. Ramlila is about Ramayan which is woven around the life and work of Rama for about 10 days during Dusshera. Ramlila is staged by local youths but occasionally professionals from outside the village are also hired and engaged. The male actors play both the male and female role. The dialogues and songs were taken from Balmiki and Tulsidas Ramayana.

(v) Painting :

The number of paintings belonging to this period is less as painting was the worst sufferer. However, some standard paintings have been discovered. One portrait of a feudal chief – Nawab of Jhajjar of 1840 and some miniatures in a *Bhagavatapurana* are quite impressive. The latter depicts Lord Krishna in different poses and some other details in rhythmical order. Some pictures are still bright, beautiful and bear masterly touches. But it is quite disappointing that names of the artists doing these paintings are not mentioned⁶⁶. But as to murals, some old *havelis* in Pehowa, Pundri, Beri, Dadri, Rewari, Bawl, and Narnaul also give evidence of the presence of a lot of murals there. But it is pathetic that not much attention is provided to preserve the same. For instance, beautiful murals at the Mansa Devi Temple near Panchkula are partly damaged in the process of renovation. Same thing also happened to the paintings in the Rang Mahal at Buria and of the Jain temple at Sonapat. The folk murals depicting various common ritualistic and auspicious scenes, though crude and simple in forms, have a capacity for abstraction⁶⁷. It is creditable that folk arts grew in Haryana region despite the fact that the region passed through times of great trouble. Understandably, peace, tranquility and freedom are the basic requirements for the proper growth and development of folk arts. Unfortunately, Haryana remained worst sufferer in all these aspects. The situation also did not improve much even after the advent of British, for though law and order situation was restored to

some extent but the important thing, namely the freedom of expression remained absent. This explains that the fine arts could not develop the way it should have been developed in the region.

EDUCATION, LITERATURE AND LANGUAGE

Education :

The educational system of a nation has considerable influence in moulding its society. In India, in the sphere of education, the old universities or centres of learning of international repute like Taxila, Nalanda and Patliputra, had disappeared in course of time under the influence of several adverse forces. Haryana was no exception. Before the annexation of the Punjab to British India in 1849, there was not a single institution for higher learning⁶⁸. Education at elementary level was arranged in Madrasa and there were very few schools. Not only that, the education imparted in the schools was more religious than secular in character. There was no system of education organized by the State. The first Govt. school in the northern region was opened at Amritsar in 1849⁶⁹, and the Dept. of Public Instruction, was established in 1856 as a result of the recommendations of the Wood's Educational Despatch of 1854⁷⁰. It was only after that both elementary and higher education begin to expand in Haryana. Education during the period remained patronized by some local rulers and members of the aristocracy and supported by contributions of some persons of benevolent disposition in the society.

Primary education in Haryana during the period particularly in rural areas remained a problem as it was feared that this process would make the people unfit for agriculture⁷¹. Education, according to the peasant, is of no use to him and he, therefore, did not send his child to a school⁷². Due to economic difficulties, it was hardly possible to keep the young boys at school. The farmer wanted his children to help him and looked to them to increase the family income. Naturally, just when it became useful for a boy to spend most of his time at school, he also becomes a useful asset to his parents. Therefore, in the beginning, to overcome this, the schools in rural areas were closed during harvesting times. In schools,

elementary reading and writing in the language chosen (Hindi, Urdu, Persian) by the pupil, and arithmetic by the indigenous methods were taught.

Because of the lack of interest that even during the nineteenth century we do not come across any school worth the name in rural Haryana, where the peasants lived in great majority. The schools were founded only in big towns, and there, too the position was far from satisfactory. The schools were attached to mosques and temples. The teachers were mostly Brahmans and Maulavis. They were not trained for teaching. They, despite low salary (Rs. 3/- per month from the king) were respected in the society⁷³. The pupils would touch their feet and speak only with permission. A pupil could join school at any time of the year. Academic sessions were flexible to suit the needs, capacities and the abilities of the individual students. There were either no formal examinations and pupils were promoted to the next higher class as and when found fit by the teacher. Methods of instruction were crude. Pupils were subjected to monotonous repetitive drill and loud recitation for hours⁷⁴.

Regarding secondary and higher education, the situation was even worse. There was no college in Haryana, the first college in Haryana was opened much later in 1929 at Rohtak. The students from Haryana who wished to go for higher education beyond matriculation had to either go to Delhi or to Lahore. Delhi College, that was started in 1792 was quite popular among Haryanvi students. In 1826, there were 120 students in this college and the number of students from Haryana was quite considerable⁷⁵. At the time of independence in 1947, there were six colleges and at the time of creation of the state in 1966, the number increased to 40. It may be mentioned that education policy to be followed in India was for the first time enunciated by Sir Charles Wood's Despatch of 1854. As a result, several institutions of higher learning in different fields were started. The first university in the region the 'Punjab University' came into existence on October 14, 1882. A law School was established at Lahore in 1870. Similarly, a Medical College was opened in 1860 at Lahore. Agriculture College and Research Institute were opened in 1909 at Lyallpur. A Veterinary College, was established in Lahore in 1882. There were only two commercial schools in

Punjab in 1901. A Teacher Training College, was established in Lahore in 1881. The government wanted to establish at least one government middle school in each Tehsil⁷⁶.

Women education, all through the period, at all levels, remained neglected in Haryana. We can just imagine that even by 1910, only 0.33 per cent of the total female population of school going age was under instruction⁷⁸. There were no middle or high schools for the girls throughout Haryana upto 1900⁷⁷. The custom of early marriage and the conservatism of the people were the main reasons for the slow growth of education among women.

As noted earlier, some individuals took pains to spread education. As far as Haryana is concerned, such an individual was William Fraser, a British official. He started two schools in 1816 and a third one in 1820 and fourth also in 1823 in the *pargana* of Sonapat on his own for the children of peasants. Fraser then made an appeal to the government to take over these schools. But the government failed to do so and schools had to be closed down eventually for want of resources. It is surprising that even the administrative change in 1834 which made this region a separate division of the newly formed North-Western Province, and the transfer of education from the central to provincial subject in 1840, did not improve matters at all⁷⁹. Fortunately, things started improving when James Thomson (1843-53) became the lieutenant-Governor of new province. He favored and emphasized education to the sons and daughters of *kisans* who formed the big chunk of population. As a result of this, several schools were opened in Delhi, Gurgaon and Rothak in 1856. The medium of instruction was either Hindi or Urdu and in some instances even both⁸⁰. By 1857, schools (known as *tesildari* schools) at various places were opened up in Haryana. But than educational activities suffered serious setback owing to the uprising of 1857. Female education as mentioned earlier, was not only poor but remained neglected during this period under consideration. The village communities did not seem to have played any substantial role in spreading education. As a result, the people of Haryana remained backward in the field of education.

The new education system introduced by British in the beginning of nineteenth century had its impact on the society in the region. It certainly broadened the horizon of knowledge but then the younger generation of the indigenous society began to question the existing traditional values, that were not much emphasized in the new dispensation. Moreover, the English system totally ignored the importance of mass education as in the new education, the emphasis was to educate a selected few. Therefore, the debate arose and there was a clash of opinions. On the whole, the colonial administration was keen to promote an education policy which served its own interest.

Literature

It is interesting to note that despite weak education system in the region, literature from Haryana continued to flow depicting different aspects of the society. The region produced several literary figures in Sanskrit, Hindi and Urdu during the period under review.

(i) Sanskrit Literature :

The contribution to Sanskrit literature during this period as compared to the olden times was quite less. This was on account of the fact that Sanskrit remained a neglected language in this period. It was only with the advent of *Gurukula* system that Sanskrit got revived later. Nischal Das (1791-1863), a great Sanskrit scholar contributed immensely to Sanskrit literature. Nischal Das was born at Kungad (Hansi Tehsil) in a Jat family. He received his instruction in Sankhya, Nyaya, Vyakarana and Vedanta at Varanasi. He was prolific writer in Sanskrit as well as Hindi. Among his Sanskrit works, mention may be made of Isopanishad, Kathpanishad, Mahabharata (all commentaries), Vrttavi Varana, Vrttidipika and Ayurveda. But unfortunately these have not come to light so far in full. His two other works entitled Sahityaddesha and Sahilyasidhhantasara, are learned exposition of the subjects concerned⁸¹. Among other contemporary saint poets who made noteworthy contribution, were Nityananda of Narnaul and Jit Ram, a son of Garib Das. Shridhan of village Dersa (Kurukshetra) Swami Hiradasa of Dadu sect from Bhiwani, Sita Ram Shastri again of Bhiwani, all these

learned people did a commendable job during the close of nineteenth century in promoting Sanskrit literature.

(ii) Urdu Literature :

Haryana can aptly be called as the birth place of Urdu. There had been several scholars in Urdu who enriched this language by producing wonderful literature during the period under consideration. Mir Mehaddi Majruh (1833-1902) of Panipat was very famous. He was a pupil of Mirja Galib. His letters to his master are invaluable. Altaf Hussain Hali was another highly gifted scholar of the period in Urdu, Persian and Arbaic. Hali produced fine pieces of scholarship. His master piece *Muqaddima-i-sher-o Shairi*, has summed up the essential of good poetry as understood in the East and West⁸². Hali has set an example to others by composing poetry on modern lines discarding the old, stale, and vulgar style hitherto followed by many Urdu poets. And this rightly earned to him the title of 'the father of modern Urdu poetry'⁸³. Khawaja Jafar Hasan Ansari was another contemporary of Hali's literary Urdu giant again from Panipat. Some of his famous work, like *Diwan-i-Jafar*, *Ramuza Sakun Kilida*, *Hikmar* etc., have been published from Ambala⁸⁴. *Mir Jafar Jatal* (1659-1713) and his brother Abdul Jabil of Narnaul are other literary figures of this period.

(iii) Hindi Literature :

Haryana witnessed the development of early Hindi literature which had its origin in Prakrit works. In the early period from 13th to 15th centuries, Haryana produced substantial authorities such as Chaurangi Nath, a resident of Ashtal Bohar (Rohtak district) Mastanath, Isardas of Faridabad, Suradasa- one of the most outstanding poets of Hindi of the fifteenth century, have been claimed by some as belonging to Sihi (Faridabad). Thus, the growth of Hindi literature in Haryana was further accelerated by the contributions of scholars of the succeeding generations. *Banarsi Das* of Biholi (a village near Rohtak), Khadga Sena of Narnaul (17th century) Garib Dass (1717-1791), Nischal Dass (1791-1863), have brought laurels to Hindu literature. Garib Das is the earliest known Nirguna saint poet of Haryana. He was born in a Jat family at Chhudhayni (Jhajjar) in 1717. His *padas* (religious hymns and songs) numbering about 17,000 to 18,500 give a

brilliant exposition of the Nirguna philosophy⁸⁵ Like Kabir, he worked for bringing about a healthy synthesis between the progressive elements of Hinduism and Islam and hence he easily found followers both among Hindus and Muslims. He founded his own sect named after him as 'Garibdas' which, in course of time, established its branches at various places in Punjab, Haryana, Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Delhi state and even in Gujarat. Then Balmukund Gupta of Gudiani (district Rewari) was another great litterateur. Father of Hindi prose, creator of Hindi Journalism, he was also a pioneer who paved the way for *Swarajya*⁸⁶. Madhawa Prasad Mishra of Kungan village in Hisar and Kehri Kripan of Bhiwani. were other great literary giants of Hindi belonging to nineteenth century. It is evident from above that education and literacy conditions in Haryana during this period remained far from satisfactory due to disturbed condition in this period on account of its typical location. But whatever efforts were made in the area of literature had salutary effects on the society in the region

Language :

Various languages and dialects were spoken in Haryana region. A majority of people spoke western Hindi which is the most important dialect spoken over large part of India including Uttar Pradesh, East Rajasthan, part of Madhya Pradesh. The dialects derived from western Hindi are Hindustani, Bangaru, Brajbhasha, Kanauji and Bundeli. As a literary language, it was employed by both the Hindus and Muslims lingua franca. Both Hindi and Urdu are its adaptations. Eastern Hindi comprising of main three dialects viz, Ahirwati, Mewati and Bagri, is also spoken in southern part of Haryana. Thus there were six dialects prevalent which were spoken in Haryana region. Counting one- by- one, Bangru is one which is also called *Jatu*. Its area is bounded by the Ambala in the north, by Gurgaon in the south, by the Yamuna in the east and Bagri speaking belt of Hisar and Sirsa districts in the west. Though its dialect changes its form after every eight *Kosa* but its general structure and context remains unaltered.

Brajbhasha is a form of western Hindi and spoken in limited area of Palwal tehsil in the district of Faridabad. It is influenced by the Rajasthani and

Ahirwati which are its neighbouring dialects⁸⁷. Ahirwati is an important dialect which was spoken in the region now comprising the districts of Rewari, Mahendergarh, a part of Gurgaon and Faridabad. It serves as a connecting link between Mewati and three other dialects, Bangru, Bagri and Sekhwati. It gets its name from the Ahira who are predominate in this area. Mewati – a sub dialect of north eastern Rajasthan is a dialect spoken in parts of Gurgaon, Faridabad and Nuh popularly known as Mewat area. It is bounded on the east by the Braja of Bharatpur and Faridabad and on the south by the Dang dialect of Jaipur.

Bagri was spoken in these parts of Hisar and Sirsa adjoining Rajasthan and some parts of Loharu and Dadri *parganas* of Bhiwani district. These dialects were introduced here about the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by Jats who migrated from Rajasthan. The above linguistic survey of Haryana still holds though in terms of percentage, people speaking different dialects may have varied.

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CHAPTER – FOUR

CHAPTER FOUR

ECONOMIC CONDITION

This chapter endeavours to unravel the economic condition of Haryana prevailing in the later Mughal period. While doing so, issues relating to agriculture, industries, communication, trade and transportation and hosts of other economic factors, depicting the livings of the people of the area, have been discussed.

It can be said that economic conditions of the people of Haryana in ancient and medieval times were, by and large, satisfactory¹. They had enough to eat and spare. But the situation turned out from bad to worse with the passage of time and it became deplorable during the period of our study. This was, among other factors, chiefly due to frequent disturbances and exploitative colonial rule. From all accounts, this was the inglorious period in the history of Haryana, as all negative forces subjected the region to dreadful political turmoil and a calculated and systematic economic exploitation of the people driving them to poverty and deprivation. We now proceed to depict economic condition of this region in terms of various economic activities referred to above.

AGRICULTURE

Haryana's economy like the rest of the country as a whole was predominately agricultural. More than 90 per cent of the population lived in villages and were directly or indirectly connected with land. Although an overwhelmingly large population of the region was engaged in the production of agricultural produce of both food-grains and non-food crops, it was conducted under highly unsatisfactory conditions. Arable land was enough and to spare. Very often the government had to resort to persuasion to make the peasantry extend the area under cultivation. The land around villages was divided into

several categories such as cultivable land, pastures and forests for fuel and other purposes. The villages known as '*gaon*' was also called '*mauza*' particularly in northern part in official records. There was a wide range of variation in the area of villages, and these were divided into fields or plots which were marked by raised borders.

The peasantry, as they still are, were hardworking doing manual labour throughout the year facing the rigours of burning summer and freezing winter². The peasantry was not a homogeneous class. The stratification was due to inequalities in wealth and social status. Peasants with large resources cultivated larger plots of land and even employed labours on their fields. The division within the peasantry, as also the deep contradictions that existed between the peasants and agriculture workers, acted as a severe constraint and weakened the capabilities of these classes. Disjointed and truncated, the peasantry was quite incapable of confronting the despotic state.

The cultivators followed the traditional methods of cultivation and irrigation. Irrigation in Haryana was mostly by wells using Persian wheel though new canal from Safidam to Delhi covering 30 *Kos*, was executed during the reign of Shahjahan. The fields were manured with animal dung, and intensive ploughing was done. The people were familiar with the principle of rotation of crops, and in many fields, depending on rainfall, raised two crops – *kharif* and *rabi*, in a year. Not only were the cereals grown, but in some parts special crops like cotton and sugarcane were also raised.

Broad Features of Agriculture:

(i) Crops and Implements

By and large, seasonal crops were grown in two major crop seasons. It had two harvests : *rabi (hari)* or spring sown in October-November and reaped in April-May, and the *kharif (sawani)* or autumn, sown in June-August and reaped from early September to the end of December. Kharif lands were ploughed once

or twice, but the rabi lands repeatedly. Sugarcane and cotton were annual crops. Wheat, gram and barely were the major *rabi* crops of the region. Wheat was grown in northern and central part of the region. Barely and gram were grown every where but more extensively in southern part of the state. Among the *kharif* crops, bajra, jowar, maize and paddy were the principal crops. Haryana produced quality basmati rice in Kurukshetra and Karnal areas with all delicacy, fragrance and wholesomeness scarcely to be matched. Bajra and Jowar were grown on poorer soils of deficient rain fall. Mustard and gram produced in the state formed a great source of providing vitaminous substances in the construction of human body and were a very important items in the diet of vegetarian population. The probable produce of the one *beegha* was in the following order : 5 to 11 mds., 2 to 6 mds., 4 to 12 mds., 10 to 80 mds., 1 to 6 mds., 20 seers to 3 mds., 3 to 10 mds., 3 to 10 mds., and 5 to 15 mds., in case of wheat, *gochnee* (mixture of wheat and grain), *Chena* (gram), Onion, Jowar, Bajra, Paddy, Cotton and Goowar respectively³.

Cotton grown in Hisar region furnished raw material for some of the local handlooms and industries. In almost every village, there were looms for manufacturing cloth. Cotton seeds were used for extracting oil and as cattle cakes. Sugarcane was yet another important costly crop and sold at double the price of wheat. De Laet writes “the whole of country between Agra and Lahore is well cultivated.....too much sugar is produced”. Juicy *desi* sugarcane was cultivated in other parts of Haryana. And this provided great source of employment to larger number of villages during winter harvesting season. But with change of guards, the East India Company got interested in encouraging production of some crops like cotton which it or British private businessmen could sell abroad and profit thereby.

Fodder, vegetables and fruits were also grown around Delhi, particularly the mango, water-melon and melon. There was extensive forest, covering most

parts of the region. During the later Mughal period, there was no such problem as afforestation except that of planting trees on both sides of the roads. *Dhak* trees and *babul* trees were in abundance. No Mughal emperor realized the importance of the role that forests played an important role in the general economic prosperity of the country, and their conservation and scientific exploitation. There had been reckless and unhindered exploitation of forest wealth in Haryana as anywhere else in India during the period under review⁴.

Agriculture and allied activities were carried out under highly unsatisfactory conditions and the average yield per acre of the different crops was consequently much lower than it should have been. The reasons for the backwardness for agriculture had been: uncertain character of rainfall, natural calamities like floods, draught, hailstorm, frost, damage caused by wild animals, rats, locusts and other pests causing crops diseases, ignorance, conservation and crude method of cultivation and equipments, imperfect crop rotation which was more for the sake of crop than the soil. The appreciation of manure as a vital factor increasing the yield from the soil was thoroughly understood by Haryanvi farmer. Farm yard manure was the principal manure used in the fields. But ordinary cultivator was addicted to use of cow-dung as fuel and conservation of manure was much neglected⁵. It may also be clarified that manure was applied more on irrigated and wet lands. Little manure was applied in unirrigated areas with low rainfall, as the manure did not rot well in the absence of sufficient moisture.

As noted, the agricultural implements were light, portable within the capacity of draught cattle. Regarding plough, it was wooden plough with iron ploughshare. The iron plough was introduced much later during British *Raj*. Tillage with plough was performed by harnessing a pairs of oxen to the plough. There were hand driven cutters, persian wheel, musk Iron plough and sugarcane crusher. Iron fodder cutter, harrows, hoes, small pumping machines were

introduced later. One of the earlier difficulties in the way of adoption of new technique by the individual cultivator was his fear of ridicule and of being regarded as a crank⁶. The sowing was done through scattering of seeds by hand.

(ii) Irrigation:

The agriculture in the region was heavily dependent on rain for irrigation needs. The well-being of peasants necessarily depended on irrigation as the most important prerequisite⁷. As the rains in the province had been uncertain, unequal and ill-distributed, availability of irrigation to the farmers for the well-being of state agriculture hardly needs emphasis. It was because of this reason that efforts were made to provide artificial irrigation through canals and wells even in the older times in the region. The region is well adapted for canals due to its southern slope and its perennial river. But despite this easy possibility of canal irrigation, before the Haryana came under British rule in 1803, there was only one canal known as Western Yamuna Canal. It was by far the oldest of the great canals in the state and constructed in 1356, by Firoz Shah Tuglaq. Later, it remained unused. The emperor Shah Jahan got it re-excavated in 1656. Ali Murdan Khan, the engineer of the Emperor, Shah Jahan developed it quite a bit. After the decay of Delhi empire, it was not properly upkept. The British, however, made strenuous efforts to restore the decayed canal system to a working condition and to extend their scope of usefulness to agriculture⁸. The old channels were cleared, remodeled and extended, new canals were excavated and several which had been dug by private agency were taken over by the government at their own request⁹. Delhi branch of Yamuna canal was re-opened in 1819 and the Hansi branch in 1833 (See Appendix Plate No. 8). Sirsa branch was sanctioned much later in 1888. This canal had been the life line for Haryana for centuries. Originating from the west bank of river Yamuna from Tajewala, irrigated parched fields of Ambala, Karnal, Jind, Rohtak, Hisar, Hansi, Sirsa etc. Another canal 'the Ghaggar' canal taking off from the Ghaggar was constructed later in 1896-97 with

famine labour to provide water to Dhanur lake about 8 miles from Sirsa. These efforts went far to obviate the possibility of the terrible calamity of famine in these parts of the state and enabled the cultivators to substitute more remunerative crops for those which could be grown on unirrigated lands¹⁰. But the irrigation facilities in the area did not develop to an extent it was desired. Perhaps, the government which ruled Haryana could have done better in their efforts to develop the irrigation facilities in the region.

Other sources of artificial irrigation in the state had been wells and embankments. Wells constituted the most important indigenous source of irrigation. But wells are profitable only when sub-soil water is sweet and high, otherwise cost will become prohibitive. Wells irrigation was again more in northern region than in south-west of the region. The wells were small in number due to great depth of subsoil water¹¹. Not only that, the water in several zones was brackish and unfit for crop cultivation. There were mostly *kutchha* wells which were dug in the earth without masonry walls or casing. They will last from 2 to 20 years and cost from Rs. 25 to Rs. 50. The *pukka* will last for century and costs from Rs.300 to Rs.1200¹². A number of methods were used to lift water from wells depending on the water table and technology available. In some parts, rope and bucket was used over the pulley to lift the water. Water was also raised by means of a lever of balanced pole (*dheukli*) erected over the well. It was the most laborious and least productive of all methods of cultivation. Water was also lifted with the help of *charsa* or rope and bucket. '*Charsa*' was also worked by bullock. *Pukka* wells with internal masonry walls made of bricks and mortar were also in vogue. *Pukka* wells were usually worked by the Persian wheel. The use of wheel for lifting water from well was also made. In this form a garland of buckets was used with three wheels, and power with the help of this device regular supply of large amounts of water could be ensured for irrigating large fields. This was also helpful for lifting water from deep wells. It was relatively

an expensive device and was accessible to the peasants with substantial means. These wells were often in joint property of several owners, who used these in turn. The construction and maintenance of wells had been mainly the result of private enterprise. But British govt after annexation, however, encouraged the sinking of wells by granting *takavi* loans on easy terms.

Embankments have been practically unknown in the region. Embankments of great antiquity were, however, to be found in Gurgaon area in Surajkund. These embankments, in due course of time, silted up and nothing was done to preserve these by the British because embankment did not earn any revenue. Not only that these neglected wells became cause of the menace to the people¹³.

Needless to say, as stated, canal irrigation under the period of study did not receive much attention. More attention could have been given to inundation and canals also in the region. Even the British failed to realize the need to maintain irrigation canals. The policy of canal irrigation adopted by Mughal, others and British were based on narrow financial consideration and lack of foresight and all direct and indirect benefits were not evaluated/counted while taking up large scale irrigation scheme in this region.

(iii) Live stock :

To rear animals both draught and milch was an important economic activity of the Haryana region. The people, especially, peasantry took interest in improving the genetic potentiality of various breeds of the livestock, providing good hardy animals to the peasant for carrying out agricultural operations and government and the army for the transport purposes. While not much information is available on the actual position of livestock relating to the Mughal period, British were very keen to have good quality livestock in the region. As a result, the British set up a cattle farm at Hisar in 1813, now a renowned institution in the country. Presently, this cattle farm is ranked as the biggest in Asia and the second

largest in the world. It gave equal attention to all kinds of livestock viz, buffalo, cow, horse, goat, sheep, camel, etc. The farm had in its possession a huge area of approximately forty thousand acres, out of which four thousand under direct cultivation for the production of fodder. The *Murrah* buffalo of Haryana is a prized variety which is much in demand throughout the country and also abroad.

Management of Land and Land Revenue:

(i) Land Revenue

The chief source of income of the government was land revenue. The system of land revenue according to some authorities, was no less a cause of poverty of the peasants in the region. The policy of land revenue hit almost every category of peasants. The primary unit of land revenue administration in the first-half of the eighteenth century was the '*mauza*' or a village. It comprised arable land, *abadi* (area under habitation) pools, grooves, *nullahs*, forest and waste land¹⁴. The boundaries of the village were clearly demarcated. While there was a wide variation in the area of the villages, an average village had about one thousand *bighas* of arable land¹⁵. The land under cultivation was divided into plots, each marked by raised borders and the peasants identified each field by giving it a proper name, as they sometimes do even today¹⁶. A number of villages formed a '*pargana*' which was a fiscal as well as a territorial unit, the number of villages in it varying from five to twelve or even larger.

The land policy in vogue in the region before the advent of British is well described by Thomas Fortescue, in his write-ups dated 1820 as mentioned earlier¹⁷. According to him, there was no person in Haryana so elevated to be styled a *raja* or a *taluqdar*. There were in fact village communities which held the entire village land in common. The *muqaddams* - the managers and leaders of the village adjusted the quota of each sharer and collected the government's share and deposited it in the government treasury through the agency of *Quanungo*, a lower level government official deputed to collect revenues of a *paragana*¹⁸. The

muquaddams were generally allowed from 2 to 20 per cent of the revenue of the village paid up by them¹⁹. It was a common practice to settle the land revenue. Thus a direct relationship did not normally subsist between the government and the peasants. Land tax was collected in the form of cash, so farmer had to sell his produce in markets, money-lender or merchant broker.

As to the share of the government in land revenue, which the *muqaddams* collected, it is very difficult to give answer to this question as it varied from place to place and from time to time. But in any case, the government assessment (*jama*) in those old days never exceeded from 1/6 to 1/4 of the gross produce²⁰. But after the death of Aurangzeb, people hardly paid any revenue at all unless forced to do so militarily²¹. Following couplet was in currency during those days:

Dili pachhe marad bhutere,
base desh Haryana,
appe boian appe khaiyan,
kise ne de na dana.

But the situation in Haryana changed after the advent of the British. The British tried to impress the peasants that they are not their exploiter but benefactor. British collected lower taxes than the Mughal had done. The land revenue continued to be collected in cash as has been the practice in the past. The British maintained that from the earliest times to that period, the public assessment upon land has never been fixed, and according to established usage and custom, the rulers have exercised a discretionary and despotic authority in this regard. The tenants and cultivators of the soil have been exposed to rapacity and oppression. The government had, therefore, decided, in order to induce the cultivators to feel secure to make a three-year settlement with them, to be followed by a second for the same period and by one of four years²².

This strategy was aimed at to please all the stakeholders of agricultural classes – peasant cultivators, tenants-at- will, crop sharers, and agricultural labours. But the happiness brought out of this act was short lived and temporary. The ‘zealous’ settlement officers instead of giving any relief to the peasants, fixed government revenue at more than 50 per cent of the gross produce without consulting or taking consent of the peasants in any way. In order to implement this, the headman of the villages were imprisoned till they agreed to the terms offered and having accepted them, till they furnished security for payment²³. The rates fixed, undoubtedly, were exorbitant and, therefore, inspite of applying coercion, the government could not collect the full dues. It is evident from the record that their remained outstanding balances of the land assessment. For instance in 1811-12, the land assessment for the region was Rs. 9,87,030/-, annas 11 and paise 06, whereas the outstanding balance was to the extent of Rs. 1,00,736/-, annas 06 and paise 11. The total land assessment in a short span time of six years from 1811-12 to 1817-18 increased from Rs. 987030/- to Rs. 17,23,691/-. Again the outstanding balance was to the order of Rs. 2,68,797/- in 1817-18²⁴. Land revenue was the chief source of income to the government. The revenue demanded was regulated by the need of the government and not always by the capabilities of the soul²⁵. The British authorities thus directed their attention towards the peasants and not the agrarian condition. The assessments were very heavy, less than 50 per cent of the goods produced remained with the peasants²⁶. For many poor farmers, the cumulative revenue arrears proved unbearable burden. Result has been that the farmers became defaulters and had to visit jails four to five times in the space of few years.

The mode of collection of land revenue was inconvenient and oppressive. The rent were collected by the authorities not with the object of improving production and productivity or the economic growth but mainly for their own consumption. The collections were made in February and September long before

the harvest. For collecting land revenue, coercive methods, as indicated earlier, were employed. For instance, in a small tract in Karnal, 136 horsemen were deployed for collecting land revenue, while 22 sufficed for police duties for the same tract²⁷.

This anti-peasant policy of land revenue completely shattered the peasants economy, and quite a few of them deserted their villages. As per record, nine villages settled in 1829 of Sonepat *pargana* were completely deserted by 1842. These villages were: Pabasara, Chidy, Yasufpur, Chasanali, Ghyaspur, Sonpara, Panava, Patti Brahmanan and Begha²⁸. Rohtak and Hisar districts and Rewari *pargama* have the same tale to tell. This was not all. The situation further deteriorated with the sharp decline in the prices of wheat, corn and other produce. For example, the price of wheat which was Rs. 2 per maund in 1841, fell to Rs. 1 only in 1851 and to Rs.1, anna 1 and paise 16 in 1855-56 showing 50 per cent decline in a decade²⁹. Their produce in most of the case could not fetch enough money to pay even their land revenue. This price of wheat was lower even than the price of Rs.1, anna 14 in 1702. Similarly the price of corn fell from Rs.1, anna 11 and paise 16 to Rs.0, anna 14 and paise 16 only in corresponding period³⁰. And the Haryana peasantry was compelled to approach the village money-lender to borrow money at exorbitant rate. The ruination of the Haryana peasantry had a very adverse effect on its village artisans and menials too, for both these classes were not commodity producers and depended entirely upon the peasantry for their subsistence. When the *kisan* suffered, they were also bound to suffer³¹.

Now we are in a position to throw sufficient light on the land revenue position in the region during the later Mughal and early British periods. Broadly speaking, the peasants had to pay from one- third to one-half of the produce according to the productivity of the land which varied from place to place. They had also to pay something over and above the original land revenue demand (*mal*)

in the form of cess and perquisites which were collected from them under various heads in order to meet the expenses incurred in connection with the assessment and collection of land revenue³². The central feature of the land revenue in early Mughal period had been to collect from the peasants all surplus of agricultural produce over and above his subsistence level, as land tax. Early British took land revenue on the use of soil which belonged to the king. The heavy land revenue burden led to flight of the peasants to areas where they enjoyed comparative freedom from oppression. Not only the land revenue high, the British tended to use compulsion while collecting land revenue³³. On the whole, the period lacked administrative stability and this was hardly conducive to their well-being. An average peasant could not, therefore, be a man of any considerable means. Generally, he lived from hand to mouth. The income of a peasant family from agriculture was estimated to be Rs. 23/- per annum i.e. less than Rs.2/- per month. This was the general condition everywhere in Haryana. The estimates are based on the basis of a survey ordered by Sir Campbell in 1826-27 of a village Thana Kalan in Rohtak district³⁴.

Not only the village communities, townsmen also, which enjoyed certain *perks* and *perquisites*, started feeling the heat of British rule. Major professionals in services, trade, craft and industries and labour also became the victim of British exploitation. The social world of the village labourer and town artisans does not appear to have changed appreciably. The new British rulers rendered these categories of persons jobless and without work. British monopolized trade of every type, and local trade was destroyed, the market was flooded with cheap machine made goods. This ruined the indigenous craftsmen and the labours whose lot was intimately connected with them.

(ii) Practice of Rent Free land :

The Muslim rulers of India granted rent-free lands to men of piety and learning, and to persons belonging to noble families, who had no other means of

earning their livelihood. The Mughals continued the practice of granting subsistence allowance to the pious, the learned, the poor and the needy to the Sheikhs, Sayyids and the Irani and Turani women. This practice was known as *madad-maash*. This grant could be renewed, extended, curtailed or resumed at the pleasure of the Emperor³⁷. The earliest evidence about the assessment of *madad-maash* lands dates back to the year 1058. We learn from a document preserved in the UP State Archives, Allahabad³⁸ that 900 bighas of land were granted to one Begum earlier in the regim of Shajahan. At that time, land assessment rate was annas eight per *bigha*. The institution of the *madad-maash* lands had important bearings on the political, economic and social life of rural people. The practice of granting rent-free lands to Muslims, especially the Shaikhs and the Sayyids, was actuated by the motive of creating pockets of local influence which could always be depended upon for loyal service to the state. Economically, it created a class spread all over the country, which like the *Zamindars* depended for its livelihood on the surplus produce of the land³⁹. This also helped to strengthen bonds between Hindus and Muslims.

ECONOMIC POLICY

Economic policy pursued by later Mughal was not very prudent. British economic policy was completely based on self-interest without any care of the locals. In early British days several states were abolished and other trauncated. Not only this, British imported their own men to monopolize trade of every type and placed their own personnel on key position in administration to have a tight grip on the administration. They also introduced cheap machine causing loss to indigenous crafts man and the labourers whose fortune was closely connected with it. The economic policy proved disastrous to the Haryana region. This is amply proved by comparing two statements: one made by Thomas Fortescue in 1820 and other by Jacuemont in 1831. While describing Haryana town, Thomas Foretescue records “ The brick built towns, the numerous stone edifices

of ornament and worship; the numerous, the spacious walled gardens; the costly and airy pleasure houses, the expensive and lasting masonry of deep walls, reservoirs and lengthened conduits, the large safe and convenient *sarais* with the *Kosminars* and accommodation and ease of travellers and above all perhaps the bold and stupendous undertaking of several land aqueducts with utilized many thousand of bighas and brought crores into the public treasury – are amongst the infrangible demonstration of former abundance, population security, wealth and happiness⁴⁰. After ten years, one of these towns (Karnal was visited by Jacuemont (1831). It was in the following condition: “The interior, an infamous sink, a heap of un-cleanliness winding pathos scarcely passable for horses, and having here and there a few miserable huts, I have seen nothing so bad in India, and it is a fit to mention that amongst the native, its filth is proverbial⁴¹.”

The British policy brought about systematic ruin of the Haryana towns and their dwellers. Similarly, a large number of feudal chiefs were also ruined by either bringing off large portions of their ancestral estates or in some cases by taking over their possession. Rewari, Farrukhnagar and Ballabhgarh states were particularly reduced in 1805, as a punishment not helping in British, in the Anglo-Maratha war in 1803. Several other states like Rania, Chhachhrauli, Ambala, Dialgarh, Thanesar, Kaithal, Babbeal, Ladwa, and Halladhar were confiscated on various grounds. The discriminatory and ruinous economic policy resulted in famines, indebtedness, and distortions in wages and prices. We now discuss famines, indebtedness, wages and prices and currency in that order to reflect economic situation in the region.

(i) Famines

Famine has been defined as “a state of extreme hunger suffered by the population of a region as a result of the failure of the accustomed food supply⁴². India has suffered from famines since time immemorial⁴³. A detail of famines has been given by the William Digby. According to him, there were 18 famines

between 11th century and 18th century. But during 19th century, there were abnormal rise in the occurrence of famines. He recorded 31 famines in the country. Between 1769-70 to 1860-61, there were 10 famines and 7 local scarcities⁴⁴.

Agriculture in India from unknown times to this day is dependent on monsoons. The failure of the monsoon has been causing as much devastation as the over raining destroys the crops. In ancient India, famine has never been a problem. But from the medieval times, we have been knowing the severe famines. The appalling famine occurred in the reign of Shahjahan, and then in 1783, which is known as famine of chalisa (1840 *Vikram*)⁴⁵. Again, there was a dreadful famine in 1802-03⁴⁶. After nine years, there was yet another famine in 1812-13⁴⁷. These famines went a long way in weakening the Mughal Empire. Thereafter, we find a cycle of these famines. Haryana region faced severe famines in 1817-18, 1833-34 and 1851-52⁴⁸. It is on record that during the first quarter of the nineteenth century, six famines occurred. The famine of 1833-34 (Sawant 1890) called *Nabia Ka Akal* is still fresh in the memory of people of Haryana.

The Mughal state had not made any systematic and long term planning to provide relief in the event of these horrible famines. The British, on the other hand, were more interested in revenue and dividends. The revenue demand was regulated by the need of government and not always by the capabilities of the soil. The British authorities directed their attention towards the peasants and not to the agrarian condition⁴⁹. Therefore, the rural population had to suffer out of the state apathy towards them. However, the British government ultimately, much later appointed a Famine Commission, in 1880, which made valuable suggestions to deal with famine. It was in the context that the British started scientific experimentation for the improvement of the agricultural economy to save its

commercial activities (supply of raw material) to their own industries in Britain, in their own interest.

Each famine resulted in appalling majority from starvation and took a heavy toll of life. The region suffered from high mortality, caused not only by draught but also by epidemic. There was heavy loss of cattle. About 88,000 cattle died in Rohtak district and 3 lakh in Hisar and several lakhs in Karnal⁵⁰. Prices of food items also rose on account of famine. During these famines, the region suffered greatly and even the basic necessities of life were scarcely available. It was terrible famine in *sawant* 1956 that engulfed whole of Haryana and adjoining areas. During the famine people were compelled to eat tree bark mixed in small quantity of grains⁵¹. The Asthal Bohar Math, however, managed to serve food free of cost to the surrounding people⁵². Balmukund Gupta, a contemporary poet depicts the condition as under⁵³ :

Ab ya sukhmai bhumi mai, nahi sukh ko lesh,

Haad, cham – purit bhao, an dudh ko desh;

Bar bar mari parat, barhi bar akal,

Kal firat nit shees pai, khole gal kral.

A comprehensive policy of the prevention of drought was just not thinkable. The very important contributory factor to enhance severity of the famine in the region was also due to faulty distribution of foodgrain and governmental extortion. The famines mostly were the direct result of the neglect of rulers who did not do the right thing at the right time in the right way. Among other reasons for famines in the region had been : the ravages of war and the movements of troops and uprising that destroyed the standing crops in fields; colonial mode of production and commercial/capitalist exploitation of country's agriculture⁵⁴ that totally disrupted the traditional structure of the economy where there was happy balance between agriculture and handicraft⁵⁵.

(ii) Indebtedness

We have seen earlier that the agriculture, the main stay of people in the region, remained in bad shape during the period under review. The living standard of the average tiller of the soil was pitifully low⁵⁷. Debt thus became the principal cause of this sad state of affairs and constituted one of the most serious problems of agricultural economy of the region. In the absence of government providing no borrowing facilities, money-lender became a big necessity. Most of the villages were said to have two or three shops of village grocers and money-lenders, who were great extortionists. The money lenders who had previously “disdained to advance money on anything as worthless as land⁵⁸” were now too eager to accept it as a security of loan as the prices of land shoot up. But the business methods adopted by money-lenders were far from ethical; they falsified accounts and charged exorbitant rates of interest⁵⁹. This, coupled with the ignorant and extravagant debtors, notorious propensity for spending, borrowed capital on occasions of marriage and other social ceremonies, led them to drink, gambling and litigation and often got them entangled in perpetual penury with little or no chance of extricating themselves from their liabilities⁶⁰. The other causes of indebtedness were: insecurity of harvests due to uncertain rainfall, excessive subdivision and fragmentation of agricultural land, and heavy mortality of livestock⁶¹. Since the land had become a valuable commodity due to rise in its value, sale of the mortgaged land for satisfaction of debt under a civil decree became an ordinary expedient instead of the exceptional resort that it had been in the pre-British period⁶². This was because of this reason that land began to pass to the moneylenders on an alarming scale. Till 1860, the total alienations in the Punjab including Haryana region amounted to 39,28,008 acres⁶³.

It is noteworthy that though debt was common before the British rule, the money-lender was not so powerful as he subsequently became. Firstly, because of the existence of a vigorous village community, which throughout the province

was generally strong enough to hold him in partial check, and secondly because of the apathy of the state towards recovery -- there being no formal courts of justice, applying strict - mechanical law, as under the Mughal rule⁶⁴. But under the British rule, both the above checks started lessening its effects. The British law afforded no protection to debtor against moneylender, it was rather injurious to the interest of the peasants and the finest peasantry of India started crumbling. Realizing the gravity of the problem, legislative actions were enacted not before 1900 to protect the peasant population from usurers and save their land from alienation by sale or the mortgage. In 1900, Punjab land Alienation Act⁶⁵ was passed under this Act, wherein non agriculturist classes were not allowed to buy land from a member of an agricultural tribe⁶⁶.

(iii) Wages and Prices

In order to assess standard of living of common people, some data on wages and prices are available pertaining to the beginning of the eighteenth century⁶⁷. At the beginning of eighteenth century, wages for ordinary workman in India ranged from 8 annas to 12 annas per mensum⁶⁸. By the 1870's wages of the coolies rose from 3 annas in the beginning of eighteenth century to 3.8 annas per mensum.

The trend of prices of rice and wheat in the eighteenth century, were as under. Whereas one rupee could buy 3.80 mds. of coarse rice in 1729, the same unit of money could buy only one maund of rice in 1754 and only 10 seers in 1776⁶⁹. Similarly, price of wheat rose continuously. Whereas eight maunds of wheat was possible for one rupee in 1729, it was only one maund and 13 seers in 1776. Rising price trend is evidently clear during this period. Regarding the availability of other items of necessity such as sugar and salt, again the consistent rise in price is in evidence. For example, sugar was available for the masses in the pre-British period under 5 pice per pound. Salt at the close of eighteenth century in Patana was Rs. 3 per maund. Worst quality of rice was sold at 72.25

seers per rupee. In terms of real wagers, the declining index was 62.04 and 69.82 only in 1729 and 1807, respectively, by taking 1600. as base year of 100. Monthly wage of agriculture labour increased from Rs.2 in 1808 to Rs. 3 in 1815⁷⁰.

(iv) Currency

The Mughal currency system may be termed as trimetallic. Coins were of three metals, viz., copper, silver and gold. Rupaya had a weight of 180 grams during eighteenth century. The silver rupaya was the main coin used for business and revenue. The ashrafi or muhar was not used in commercial transactions but used for hoarding purposes and also for giving gift. The most common coin used for small transaction was the copper dam which weighed around 323 grains. The silver value of gold kept fluctuating throughout this period, ranging from 10 to 14 rupaya for one gold coin⁷¹.

INDUSTRY

(i) Handicraft

Haryana being primarily an agricultural region, it is but natural that the craft and industry practiced here were mainly based on agriculture. The artisans and craftsmen maintained only the traditional hereditary skill. The usefulness of tools and implements to which the people had been accustomed from generation to generation was not yet over. They were definitely not suited for the type of large scale production which has developed in Europe. The organization of industry for supplying the needs of the rural community was primitive. The producers of high quality luxury goods worked either in their homes or the state workshops in the towns. Such village artisans who acquired special skills in their crafts, also made their contribution to the supply of these luxury goods. Normally, the elder craftsmen trained their children in their hereditary occupation. As most of the craftsmen were poor, they worked for merchants who placed their products in the market. There had been rapid decline of the indigenous industry

especially cotton spinning, weaving, dyeing and tanning, owing chiefly to the import cheap machine-made goods from Britain with the start of nineteenth century⁷².

Unfortunately, this decline was not compensated by the growth of large-scale industries in the region because the British did not want India to become a modern industrial country. It was thought inevitable that India should remain predominantly agricultural, whilst the government wished to avoid both the active encouragement of industries that (like the cotton mill industry) competed with powerful English interests, and increased state expenditure⁷³. The capital had as yet found more profitable, or a more tempting investment in exploiting the agriculturists than in developing the staple industries. Absence of technical skill, which could only be acquired by technical education remained neglected⁷⁴. Scarcity of coal and fuel was still a hindrance to the industrial development in the region. The destruction of handicraft in the region had far reaching economic consequences. It led to unemployment on a vast scale. The weavers were hit the most. Lord William Bentinck reported in 1834 : “the misery hardly finds a parallel in the history of commerce. The bones of cotton weavers are bleaching the plains of India”. And Haryana was no exception,

(ii) Major industries

It would be appropriate to present the brief account of some industries such as textile, sugar, metal, pottery, tanning and stone in the region.

Cotton industry, obviously was an important industry of the region. Coarse cotton cloth was woven by hand in almost every village. The coarse country cloth was strongly woven. Finer qualities were also manufactured, but these included only long clothes, white or coloured, with woven patterns⁷⁵. Muslin was made in Delhi and Rohtak. The *khes*, *susi*, *lungi*, head turban were very popular. Cotton rags, *daris* or *shatranjis*, were turned out at Lahore and

Ambala. Cotton printing was carried on in many parts of the state. The printing was done by hand by means of small wooden blocks.

But then during British period, the industry started declining due to competition of imported piece goods. The cotton produced locally was being exported and the region imported very large quantities of cotton yarn and piece goods from foreign and thus the pattern of trade got reversed. After 1700, imports of Indian printed cotton fabrics in England were banned. The purpose of this measure was to eliminate the Indian competitors from the British market. A case was reported that an English lady who possessed an Indian handicraft was fined 15 pounds⁷⁶. The region could have dispensed with imported cotton altogether by erecting more spinning and weaving mills and feeding them with their own cotton, but this was not the policy of the British. Another difficulty was that the locally grown cotton in the Province had a very short staple, its maximum length being 5/8 inches, so that it could not be spun to very fine counts⁷⁷. Moreover, the indigenous industry had to face competition from foreign piece goods, particularly those from Japan⁷⁸.

Similarly, the region produced considerable quantities of raw wool, but much of it was exported. It was largely produced in Hisar and wool of Hisar was also considered the finest in the entire region. But it was inferior to the imported Australian wool. It was chiefly the camel's hair that was produced in Hisar. The woollen products were made more in Panipat. Blankets made in Panipat were generally coarse and hard. A finer kind of woollen wrapper called *lohi* was made in Sirsa, Fatehabad and Hisar. Goat's hair was used in several parts of the region for making ropes, bags, sacking *jhuls* for cattle and matting for floors. Spinning and weaving of goats' hair to make sacking and with cotton (which was used for the wrap) to make *bhakla* cloth, but it was mostly used for rope making⁷⁹. Camel's hair was twisted by hand and not spun. It was mixed with goat's hair to make sacking, and with cotton to make *bhakla* cloth. The industry made certain

progress but faced difficulties in its steady growth. Few efforts were made to improve stock. The sheep of the area could not exceed one *seer* of wool per sheep, and the quantity also inferior. An average English sheep certainly produced as much as five pounds and some breeds gave seven and even eight pounds. Wool sorting in the region was done in a very primitive manner.

Carpet Industry was popular in Karnal, Ambala and Rohtak. Persons employed in the industry all belonged to the lower classes of the population like weavers etc. It had no artistic style and *dari* manufacturing was not very attractive. The designs consisted for the most part of blue and white strips or of strips of red, blue or black⁸⁰. Pile carpet was also manufactured at Hisar.

Embroidery of several types was also popular among Jats of Haryana concentrated in Hisar, Rohtak and Gurgaon districts. *Shishadar pulkari* was very popular and widespread. From purely a domestic one during Mughal time, the industry grew into a considerable trade under the British rule. Delhi remained the centre of trade in embroideries, in which gold and silk wires as well as silk thread was largely used on silk, satin and velvet⁸¹.

Sugar industry was another notable industry in northern India including Haryana. The two articles of commerce produced in the region from sugarcane were gur and sugar⁸². It has been an important industry of Haryana, since the land and soil of the region were quite suitable for its cultivation. Villages of northern India were so perfect in sugar making since the beginning that the Chinese King Taitsang (627-650) sent a man to Gangetic India to learn the art of sugar making⁸³. Villages made all variety of sugar products from molasses to candy. These were the popular food articles among the people of the region. But the technology employed for making *gur* was quite old resulting in wastage of sugarcane juice. It is estimated that not less than one fifth of the sucrose in the juice is lost by the indigenous methods of gur-making. The refined sugar industry was almost non-existent in the region⁸⁴.

Metal industry particularly the iron industry was important industry during this period. The discovery of a number of iron made crucibles from an ash pit belonging to Ist century AD at Sugh⁸⁵ (near Jagadhri) prove the ancient nature of this industry in the region. The pre-eminent position of iron industry at Jagadhari clearly proves that this industry has been very popular in the region since first century to the present time.

Jagadhari and Ambala were important centres to meet the agriculturists requirement of iron implements. Lohars were very skilful in making these implements like spade, hoi, sickle, axe, ploughshare etc. Other metals like copper, silver, gold bronze etc. were utilized in making objects of different kinds. In Haryana, the metals were frequently used for making the images of deities and wares. Images of deities were placed in the temples of Hansi⁸⁶ and Thanesar. Men and women were very fond of jewellery made of gold and silver. Powell⁸⁷ gave 99 names for ornaments used in the region. Superior work was turned out at Delhi. Chandni Chowk had array of tinsel and fancy ornaments including such things as beads and bangles, gold and silver lace, flashy head dresses and glittering marriage boxes. But slowly due to continuous absence of cultivated and refined Mughal court, and from the strain of warfare, there was not much luxury left in the region under the later Mughals and early British rule. The industry also suffered a set back due to the anti-guild policy of the government.

Pottery industry has been very popular in Haryana⁸⁸. Almost every village having its potter, who was generally a village menial who supplied the requirements of villagers in return for a fixed share of the harvest. Potter used the simplest means and instruments in his trade. He preferred to avail himself of the materials that lay nearest to his hand without going further a field in search of clay. The variety of clay used was the light-red. Red *geru* colour was mostly used. The potter's wheel was a rude and clumsy looking object. The other instruments such as '*taga*' - a string and scrapers etc, were all simple. The most

common form of '*kilu*' was a simple hole dug in the ground near the potter's house⁸⁹. Glazing of the pottery was done in case of *martbans*, *piyalas*, *chillams*, *diwas*, *huqqas*, and ink-pots. In Haryana, glazing was done in Karnal. Toys were also manufactured occasionally on the eve of *melas*. Toys were usually made in the figures of gods, men and animals, and the manufacturing was entirely in the hands of Hindus, for the Mohammedans were forbiddin by their religion to make images. The toys made were extremely rough. During the nineteenth century, the import of cheap German and other European toys of wood and tin was said to be making its influence felt, and the local industry appeared to have a more restricted future before it⁹⁰. Rohtak was popular centre for glass making. In Rohtak, there were two factories employing 15 people each. Panipat also occupied important inter-district trade cetnre for *Charis*. Import from North-west province was affecting the local industry badly where these were made by Muslim artisans.

Stone industry also engaged large number of persons in it. The prevalence of masons, sculptors and stone cutters engaged in carving images, erecting buildings, pillars, columns is an indication of the flourishing nature of the stone industry. It has been testified by the remains of large number of images, temples and other ancient and medieval structures in the region. An unfinished image of Vishnu discovered from Asthal Bohar (Rohtak) and an unfinished Jaina image from Jind is an example of stone cutting industry in Haryana⁹¹. Similarly, Thanesar remained a great centre of lithic art in early years. The multi storeyed buildings are also known to have existed in this region. Archaeological excarvations have discovered a large number of stone images from the various sites of Haryana region. Some of these sculptors are of very high standard.

Tanning was important industry due to the large number of livestock and their high mortality rate, the yield of hides and skins was considerable. The skins ordinarily used for tanning in Haryana region were these of buffalo, bull or cow, sheep and goat. Dog skins were wasted. Chief of the tanning materials of the

region was the bark of the *kikar* (*acacia arabica*) which was in abundant supply. Tanning industry was the monopoly of the meanest, poorest and most degraded orders of the people. Several of them pursued these activities as subsidiary occupation⁹². The region possessed a large supply of barks and skin and the quality was second to none in the region⁹³. Further, the province abounded in tanning materials such as kiker bark, myrobalan etc.⁹⁴. Their methods were primitive causing enormous waste of raw material. Main leather items were saddlery and shoes. Kalanaur in Rothak was famous for saddlery. Later, this gave way to Kanpur and Meerut⁹⁵. Drums, tumblers, leather hukabowls, bokas, *charsa*, *kuppas*, scale pans of balances and many other such small articles were made of leather. But the leather industry had to face stiff competition from leather working centres like Kanpur. And this injured the industry of the local hereditary leather working classes. As a result the prominent centres of leather such as Kalanaur in Rothak and Bhiwani in Hisar which formerly did a flourishing business, had now started feeling the pinch of competition and hardship. Oil pressing, ceramic, rope making, milk churning, wood work were other industrial activities in the region.

Haryana had been a seat of high civilization from prehistoric times. It also flourished during Mughal period and industrial scene was vibrant, though it was rural based. But then during the later Mughal period after the death of Aurangzeb, the region was full of chaos. Peace was essential for the development of arts and the result was that crafts was not always a part of the life of the Haryanvi people, especially so during the last one hundred and fifty years till 1857. Haryana remained a battle field constantly. When the Mughal empire fell, the prospects of the arts did not improve and so the industry. The industries became backward due to the retrogressive policy of the English. Relatively stagnation in demand, a low rate of capital formation and the absence of rapid

technological innovation contributed to the industrial economy, on the whole, growing rather slowly.

COMMUNICATION, TRADE AND COMMERCE

(i) Communication :

Trade and trade routes play an important role in the well-being of the people. Transport has been rightly described as 'the circulatory system of a country's activities' the foundation of commerce, the social well being and of development of thought⁹⁶. Due to Haryana strategic location, many important national and international routes passed through the region in ancient days. Chinese and other travellers have mentioned in their journey the vivid account of Agroha, Rohtak, Thanesar, Sirsa, Sugh, Traori, Kaithal, Karnal and Panipat. If any *karvan* of traders or enemy forces proceeding through Punjab managed to reach the Sutlej, then they were forced to come to the plain of Kurukshetra.

The information of Al-Biruni⁹⁷, who visited Haryana in the early part of eleventh century A.D. are more exhaustive which give vivid description of conditions of trade routes which passed through this region. The means of transport during this period were not encouraging. Railways had not yet been introduced in India. The oldest railway in the Punjab was that from Amritsar to Lahore opened in 1862⁹⁸. The chief road in the region was a continuation of the Grand Trunk (G.T.) road starting at Calcutta, ran through northern India to Delhi. Then, it passed through Panipat, Karnal, Ambala, and reached Peshawar in Pakistan covering a distance of 1580 *Kosa*. This *Kutch* road laid down during Sher Shah Suri's reign was made motorable by the British nearly in 20 years from 1833 to 1852⁹⁹. On the north, the chief route was the Hindustan-Tibet road, which ran from the Shipki-Pass on the frontier of the Chinese empire to the railway terminal at Simla and Kalka and was opened in 1864-65.

The bullock-cart remained the chief means of transport of goods by road. It was a 'heavy substantial vehicle without springs or tyres and made by any

village carpenter.¹⁰⁰ On the important cart-roads to the hills, regular passenger services were maintained by means of a two-wheeled carriage called a *tanga* drawn by a pony. It could carry four to six passengers and could cover normally about 5 miles in an hour¹⁰¹

The state of communication and other works in the region was, with reference to commercial, agricultural and political requirements, were not only inadequate but also deplorable. Many of the so-called roads were mere tracks, formed by village carts, across the region in the country and wheeled traffic was, for the most part, impossible during the rainy season¹⁰². So to say that the state of road transport about the middle of the last century was quite unsatisfactory in the region. It was in 1854, that the Department of Public Works, was organized and for 30 years it managed practically all the road works¹⁰³.

(ii) Trade and Commerce :

As mentioned earlier, Haryana lived in her villages and agriculture was the very backbone of her economic life. The Haryana village like any other Indian village was, more or less, a self-sufficient unit. In times of normal rainfall, it produced adequate foodgrains for its subsistence. Other needs of the people living in it were few, and they were met by the village artisans. The agricultural surplus went to the king and the government in the form of land revenue, and the peasant, after paying the government, had little surplus left with him for purchasing the goods of urban industry. What remained went to meet the needs of salt, spices and clothing. In the circumstances, there could be little exchange of goods between the villages and towns. Another significant factor restricting exchange of goods between rural communities and towns was lack of good transport system. Before the nineteenth century, no *pucka* roads, with bridges spanning water-ways, existed and merchandise had to be transported by pack-animals. *Banjaras* driving thousands of loaded bullock donkeys and camels were no uncommon sight in Haryana region.

Custom duties (*Zakat*) and tolls levied on goods in transportation from the place of production to its final destination was also very high. State officials and Zamindars were a source of perpetual harassment to the producers and carriers of goods. The Peshwa diaries, Chaplkar and Chaplin, list over fifty *pattis* or levies on goods bought or sold or in transit¹⁰⁴. The matter had come to such a pass that between the time of leaving the factory or port reaching their destination, goods and merchandise pay double their cost price in tolls. But it does not mean that trade did not exist. Whereas the poor were satisfied with subsistence food and clothing, the nobility, feudatories and provincial officials with their establishments and their children and wives had great demand for articles of luxury and display. It was this thing that attracted local and foreign traders.

It would be appropriate here to mention that the British political agents in Haryana invited people from trading class of other areas to start their business here. Mr. G.R. Campbell was one such agent at Ambala who wrote letters to famous Potedar family (Seth Mirza Mal) Churu (Rajasthan) to promote business and shops in Rohtak, Ambala, Rewari and other places in 1826. These letters bear the signatures (in English) of the official and also the seal. And in response to these, Seth Mirza Mal Potedar took him to several places in Haryana to start his business ventures¹⁰⁵.

By the end of the eighteenth century, however, trade, both internal and foreign suffered a decline due mainly to upheaval and chaos in the region. The Mughal empire was in decline and it could no longer keep peace in the country. In the earlier half of the eighteenth century, the Marathas appeared to carry everything before them and evolved a new order to replace the old. The Maratha system of exercising their supremacy, over conquered provinces by demand of tribute (*chauth*), without organizing proper administration, was wasteful and expensive. Their armies overran territories, destroying everything which they could not take away and impoverishing the rulers and the subjects who were

supposed to provide extra pounds for meeting Maratha demands and many trading centres including Delhi lay in ruins. James Forbes, traveling in India in 1785 lamented: “.....the country between Muttra (Mathura) and Delhi had been completely depopulated by famine. Ruins of *sarais*, mosques, mausoleums and magnificent structures surround the city of Delhi.”¹⁰⁶

One added reason for the decline of trade was with the opening of eighteenth century saw the acquisition by the English of extraordinary trade privileges that enabled them to oust native traders and merchants from both inland and overseas trade. Not satisfied with it, incidence of piracy and seizure of Indian vessels at sea increased greatly. History books tell us that the Indian subcontinent had trade links with foreign lands even before 300 B.C. With the passage of time, offshore trade developed markedly enough to create Indian presence in the Far-East as well as central Asia, Arabia and elsewhere. Mughals also encouraged trade especially with Islamic countries.

As to **exports** from India during eighteenth century, cotton goods, calicoes, raw-silk, raw-cotton, indigo, pepper and various drugs and salt petre to England, and other countries in Europe, Guinea Coast of East Africa, Burma, Perce, Siam, Japan, Persia and western Asia, were the major items. Of the items exported, Haryana region produced only raw cotton. In the process of imposing high tariff on Indian manufacturing goods, India was thus reduced from the state of manufacturing to that of a raw material producing country. As a result of this policy, handloom industry in Haryana suffered a set back. Bolts (1772) mentions that in the time of Mughal government and *nawab*, the weavers manufactured their goods freely and without oppression and could sell freely on their own account. With the introduction of monopoly, the entire weaving population as well as the merchants and intermediaries connected with the cloth trade were subjected to oppression and even the most sacred laws of society were atrociously

violated¹⁰⁷”. The result had been that a great many weavers deserted their profession to seek subsistence from a less precarious calling.

Regarding commodities of **import**, these included gold, silver, lead, tin, woolen goods, horses, spices, tobacco and glassware. Though India maintained a favourable balance of trade during seventeenth and eighteenth century, but India's foreign trade was strangled as she was left completely at the mercy of England. The Industrial Revolution in Great Britain also hit Indian industry very hard. Even the cheap labour in India could not compete with labor- saving machinery. The Indian practice of buying gold and silver has pernicious effects on trade and industry. In the eighteenth century, a considerable body of the industrial and trading population in India was represented by Hindus. The middle class was not strong and enterprising enough for initiating industrial and commercial changes by investment of capital in new ventures. The feudal aristocracy which controlled wealth was extravagant and hardly used it for trade and productive purposes. This all combined conspired towards the loss of her industrial and commercial hegemony in the orient.

In the absence of paucity of data on various export and import items, historians and economists have been forced to rely largely on qualitative evidence of British exploitation of the Indian economy and the disastrous impact that it had on the artisans and the agricultural population. British government resorted to various discriminatory trade policy imposing import tariffs and bans on the import of fine Indian textile. They were inspired purely by the strategy of ‘buy cheap and sell dear’ to borrow an expression from St. Augustine. Cotton textile imports in India increased from 4.2 million of rupees in 1828-29 to 7.5 million in 1839-40. Similarly, value of cotton piece goods increased from 11.8 to 18.3 million of rupees in the same period¹⁰⁸. Thus, during the later Mughal and early British period, de-industrialization of Indian industry had started which is evident from import of cloth. And then the Railways hastened this process.

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CHAPTER – FIVE

CHAPTER FIVE

RELIGION AND ARCHITECTURE

Religion always held a dominant position in every sphere of life of the people in India and influenced deeply the social activities of the various classes in diverse ways. Similarly, architecture reflects upon the taste and imagination of the people and also serves as bond between culture and religion. This chapter has, accordingly, been divided into two sections. Whereas Section I traces the development of various religions and sects, architectural condition and activities are discussed in Section II.

SECTION I

RELIGION :

Religion has played an important role in the Indian society and so in Haryana region. Religion was not only the base of Hindu society even after the rule of Islam for several hundred years, it was still the regulation of the Indian life. Story of other religions is more or less the same. From the early hours of morning till late at night, there are manifestations of the over-powering fervour of religion. But many religious performances and ceremonial observances were for the most part formal asset - a form to be followed as a means of escape from the supposed wrath of the gods¹. Whereas religions have helped the people to lead a pious and scrupulous life, they have also played disastrous role, as it had, divided the society into different groups and even forced conversion from one religion to another. Before we present the details regarding the existence and growth of religions in Haryana, it would be essential and interesting both to understand some external characteristics of the major religions.

In fact, there are broadly the practical matters by which several religions could be distinguished. For instance, Hindu, Jain and Buddhist believed in their respective *Shastras*, the Muslim in the *Quaran* and the Sikh in *Guru Granth Sahib*. The Hindu, Jain and Sikh prayed generally to the east and never to the south, the Muslim prayed towards Mecca. The first three worshipped in temples,

the last in the mosque. Both the Hindus and Sikhs believed in the sanctity of animal life and even in the fertility of certain plants and trees, of all the animals. Cow was the most sacred². The Mohammedan abhorred the pig and dog, but killed and ate most other animals. The Budhists and Jains scrupulously respected all animal life. The Sikh abstained from tobacco, the Hindu indulged in it, to the Muslim, spirits were forbidden. The Hindus and Jains shaved their heads, the Sikhs allowed their hair of head and face to grow uncut and untrimmed. The Muslim practiced circumersion, while the Sikh had a baptism of initiation and a ceremony of communion. The Hindu, Jain and Sikh married by circumambulation *phera*, the Muslim by consent or the parties formally asked and given before. The former three burnt, the Muslim buried and the Budhist burnt buried or exposed his dead. The customs relating to eating, drinking, dresses etc. varied. Hindu worshiped *tulsi* plant, *peepal* and the *neem*. Among almost all he communities and classes, saints were honoured. People made offerings at these holy places for obtaining spiritual and more often then not, temporal blessings.

Major Religions :

In Haryana, people followed several religions such as Hindusim, Islam, Sikhism, Jainism, Charistanity, Buddhism and also several multiple sects. At present, Hindu religion shares overwhelmingly, large population of ninety per cent followed by Sikh (6.2%) Islam (4.0%), Jain (0.3%), Charistan (0.1%), Buddhist and the rest partake only negligible share³. In the later Mughal period, Hinduism and Islam were the major religions in Haryana and the Sikhism emerged the third one. It may be mentioned that the population of Haryana region in 1803 was about 10 lakh, out of which 70 per cent were Hindus, 25 per cent Muslims and 3-4 per cent Sikhs. It increased to 22,22,730 in 1855 and the population density was 212 per square mile⁴.

Hinduism :

Hinduism is not one homogeneous system of religion but a family of religious system. It is not entirely Vedic in its origin but includes in its fold many sects and systems of non-Vedic origin and some ideas of non-Indian origin also. Hindu hold the old triad, Brahma, Vishnu, and Mahesha in high esteem⁵. Lord

Ram, Krishna, Ganesh, Hanuman and Bhairon are also worshipped. Besides, hosts of other gods are also worshipped that include sun, earth or mother earth, planet like saturn, mercury and mars. The Ganga and the Yamuna rivers were also worshipped. In order to earn *punya*, people of Haryana used to go to Delhi or Haridwar to take holy dip in rivers. Goddess Sarswati, Kali, Uma, Durga were known as *mata* in country-side. In every Hindu house, there used to be a small niche where he worshipped his family deities and ancestors. There were special days like Rama Navami, Ganesh Chaturthi and like to mark the worship of several gods or other. There were temples dedicated to Rama, Shiva, Ganesh and Hanuman in towns or villages, crests of hills which pilgrims were always visiting, greeting each other with the name of their deity from time to time. When the end comes, the name of Rama was always on the lips of dying man. As pointed out, the animals, birds, etc. were also venerated. For example, cow was worshipped on the occasion of the Gopashtami in the month of Kartika. During nine days in the month of Bhadon, the snake was worshipped. The shady *peepal* tree, the village well, and the pond were also worshipped on special occasions⁶. People following Hindu religion believed in God, heaven and hell. Also they believed the theory of karma, fate, and incarnation.

There were several cults of Hinduism such as vaishnavism, saivism, surya cults, ganpatyes cult, karttikeya cult and sakti cult. All these cults in Haryana region since time immemorial remained in vogue though varying in intensity and force, over the time period. Vaishnavism made rapid progress during early medieval period in Haryana which is proved by large number of inscriptions⁷. According to them, Vishnu or Narayana is the first god in the pantheon of Hindus. The early popularity of Vaishnavism has been reflected in the Tosam inscription, temples of Vishnu at Pehowa and another inscription from Hisar, Hansi and Bohar⁸. Similarly, the inscription and old temples of all these sects have been excavated proving the prevalence of these cults in this region. The still existing Siva temples at Kalayat and other places prove the impact of Saivism in Haryana region. The diverse Hindu sects were usually tolerant to one another. But cases of either hostility were not totally unknown. Dabistan records a case of

fierce fighting between the shaven-headed *vairagis* and the *naga sannyasis* at Hardwar in 1640⁹. The quarrel must have arisen on the question of precedence in taking the bath in the Ganges on the occasion of the Kumbha Mela. The Naga Sannyasis killed a number of *vairagis* on these occasions. Similar incidents had taken place in eighteenth and nineteenth century and also continue till date at Haridwar, Kurukshetra etc.

Because of the perverted minds of the people following these sects and lack of understanding of the purpose and meaning of Hindu religion, some beliefs and superstitions were entrenched with the people. These superstitions became quite numerous and complex with the passage of time. Certain days in the calendar were considered lucky and certain others unlucky. It was thought inauspicious to mention the name of husband, places and animals. Persons with bald headed, one-eyed and lame were considered vicious. A pregnant woman was believed to possess magical powers¹⁰.

According to Hindu belief, a male offspring was necessary for the performance of religious ceremonies that would secure the salvation of the parents. A child born in the month of Kartik or at noon was considered inauspicious. A child born on the 14th of a lunar month was unlucky for the father¹¹. The birth of twins was very auspicious and the mother was sure to go straight to heaven after death. A bachelor or a man without a male issue must become a *bhut*¹². The sneezing was thought to be the result of *bhut* entering or leaving the nose. Agricultural superstitions connected with cattle and agriculture were numerous. A Jat had to, before he began to plough his field for any harvest, ask the Brahman whether the land was awake or asleep. The small whirlwinds which arose like pillars of dust in the hot weather were supposed to be the work of *bhuts* going to bath in the river Ganga¹³. The superstitions most prevalent especially among women were liable to become possessed by evil spirits generally called *Jins*. The disease now is diagnosed as hysteria. For treatment of these ailments were generally saints and *pirs* who treated the patient at their own shrines. Black magic or witchcraft to destroy the enemy was also practiced. Witches were also called *dains*¹⁴. Belief in dangers resulting from the evil-eye

prevailed widely among all grades of society. The common term by which it was known was *nazar* used in the sense of the baneful influence of the glance of a person. There were numerous ways to bring good luck or ward off bad luck, connected with every important event in life – birth, marriage, death the cutting of teeth by children, the undertaking of a journey, the showing of a field, the invoking of rain, the construction of a house and similar others. Some wizards were supposed to cause the death of a woman and then “bring her to life again, and thus secure her for their own enjoyment”¹⁵. Symptoms of distortions as became galore, some religions and reformist movements, came in the fore to redeem Hinduism in the region during this period. This aspect will be discussed later in this chapter.

Islam :

Islam was the next important religion after Hinduism being followed in Haryana. The eighteenth century may be regarded as the period of transition from the Medieval to Modern Islam in India and Shah Waliullah of Delhi (1703-62) has been aptly described as forming the bridge between the two. The eighteenth century also witnessed these gradual fusion of the different groups or communities of Indian Muslims, known by the names of their original homes in western and central Asia (Iranis, Turanis, Afghans, or Pathans) and the Hindu converts of Islam. They regarded themselves and were regarded by others, as so many distinct classes or communities within the fold of Islam in India. The difference was akin to, but less rigid than the different castes of the Hindu society. The Hindu converts to Islam were by far the largest in number, but at the same time the lowest in social position among the Indian muslims. From the very beginning, i.e. the conquest of Sind in 712 A.D. upto the eighteenth century, the conversion of the Hindus to Islam went on, not in hundreds but in thousands, specially in the Punjab and Bengal¹⁶. The entire Hindu village of Bainsi in Meham sub division adopted Islam under the serious threat of Aurangzeb¹⁷. This was largely because of three factors: sheer force of violence, temptation of money and missionary efforts.

Muslims, as a result of conversion, had a large number of common religious beliefs and practices with Hindus¹⁸. They like Lord of Hindus consider their prophet. The deitification is extended to the status too, who also stand raised to the levels of minor or major deities and are worshipped like Hindu deities. Devotees used to tie threads in the *dargah* to fulfil their desire. They also donate money for the *urs* as well as offering of flowers and scents, lighting of lamps at the graves¹⁹. A large number of Muslims believed in omens and consult astrologers for something or the other. Many of them worship, of course with a little variation, earth, water, air, trees, rivers, mountains, moon, sun, and so on. The old practice of snake worship to have taken the form of veneration for *guga*, who has been believed to be a Chauhan's chief of the Rajputs, and a *pir* by the Muslims. Khawaja Khizr, the god of water, is also worshipped. In villages, Muslims and Hindus worshipped several common village deities. Women also played an important role in worshipping these deities. A muslim woman can not afford not to worship *sitla* – the small goddess for the safety of her child. She, occasionally, feeds Brahmana priests. A Hindu woman used to make offering at the shrines of Muslim saints every thursday and as other ceremonial occasion like marriage etc.

Sikhism :

Guru Nanak (1469-1538) founded Sikh religion. But Sikhism was something more than a religious system. The political and military achievements of the Sikhs during this period of study, largely, over-shadowed their religious outlook and spiritual character. Broadly speaking, the political-cum-military power of the Sikhs may be regarded as the reaction against the intolerance and bigotry of the Mughal rulers leading to the oppression of the Hindus. Forcible conversion, destruction of Hindu temples, imposition of taxes like *jizya* and pilgrimage tax upon the Hindus were some of the disabilities under which Hindus were groaning. Guru Nanak was an eye-witness of the treatment meted out to the people by Babur when he invaded India in 1521. Nanak then shaped the growth and development of both Sikhism and the Sikh nation. Nanak preached to Hindus and Muslims alike. This way, Sikhism was created and ten *Gurus* in

succession propagated their religion in Punjab including the Haryana region. The term Sikh implied acceptance of the tenets held by the *Gurus*, and, as in all eastern religion, these tenets were partly religious and partly concerned with social observances.

Tracing the political history of Haryana, it is discovered that with the eclipse of the Marathas in the battle of Panipat in 1761 and the death of Surajmal-a Jat *raja*, in December 1763, Haryana became just a no man's land, and an easy prey to the rapacity of the Sikh *misdars*. They crossed Sutlej and started their raids on the territory of Haryana region. They conquered and occupied Sarhind – a place adjacent to Haryana in January 1764. They then occupied northern Haryana which included Ambala, Karnal, Thanesar and Panipat²⁰. Jassa Singh Ahluwalia occupied Naraingarh, Jai Singh Nishanwalia captured Kharar, Karam Singh Sahid occupied Shahjadpur and Kesri. Gajpat Singh of the house of Phul seized a large tract in Haryana including the districts of Jind and Safidon²¹. Ala Singh and Amar Singh of Patiala also occupied a part of Haryana. In 1767, Desu Singh founded a Sikh State at Kaithal. In 1777, by a treaty, Hansi, Hisar and Rohtak were restored to the Mughals and Fatehahad and Rania remained in the jurisdiction of Patiala

When Ahmad Shah Abdali advanced towards Lahore, paying not much attention to Jawahar Singh, who was aiming to capture entire Haryana and Punjab, Sikhs suddenly rushed back to the Punjab and continued to harass the Abdali troops till their retreat in March 1765. The Sikhs again assembled in large number in Amritsar in September 1765 and decided to plunder Haryana and Doab. They divided themselves into two parts at Sarhind in *Tarun Dal* and *Buddha Dal*. Tarun Dal which consisted of about 25,000 horses and was led by Jassa Singh, Tara Singh and Sham Singh, raided the Haryana territory, and laid the people under contribution²². But Najib-ud-duala tackled them. To take revenge, the Sikhs attacked Najib-ud-duala in districts of Sonapat and Panipat. This time, they were successful and reached upto the outskirts of Delhi and got considerable booty. Then under the leadership of Jassa Singh, again in December 1767, the Sikhs took possession of northern Haryana upto Karnal.

They badly defeated to Najib-ud-duala and compelled him to vacate the capital. In fact, they could have assumed the role of the king-makers of Delhi, but they lost the opportunity due to the differences among their leaders. The Sikhs again in January 1770, raided the *paraganas* of Panipat and Karnal and plundered every village and even menated Delhi. Najib-ud-duala made the last effort to subdue them, but failed. And with the death of Najib-ud-duala on 31st October, 1770, Afghan rule over the region was terminated.

Sikhs defeated Mughal Ali Khan - the Governor designate of Sarhind in April-May 1772. This frightened the Mughal Emperor Shah Alam II and the Maratha Chief, Jankoji was posted at Delhi. Jankoji immediately moved towards Panipat and Karnal to oust the Sikhs. However, he reached Pehowa (16 miles from Thanesar) and after bathing there in the sacred tank, returned to the capital. The Sikhs again in 1774, appeared on the scene of Delhi. Sikh pestered Begum Samru and compelled her to leave Haryana. It is apparent that after the battle of Panipat there was complete anarchy and political confusion in Haryana. With no stable government in Delhi, Sikhs established a number of petty principalities in Haryana.

The Impact of Sikhism in Haryana

Guru Nanak to Guru Gobind singh, and then later upto 1857, the Sikhism had travelled long and seen numerous political and social overtones. All the Gurus had unique features of their political, religious and social doings. The life of the Sikhs centred around the personality of the *Guru* which they assimilated and emulated by close personal contact with him. Guru Nanak, the first *Guru* gave the people an idea which was ultimately to mould his followers into powerful community. Guru Angad collected Guru Nanak hymns and gave these better shape and the new script came to be called Gurmukhi, meaning that it came from the mouth of the Guru. Then Guru Amar Das, established a practice of obliging all visitors to partake of food in his free kitchen. He fought against *sati partha* and denounced *purdha* system prevailing among womenfolk. Guru Ram Das, the next guru provided with a sacred tank- the tank of nector in Amritsar. Guru Arjuna, fifth in succession was an original thinker, illustrious poet, practical

philosopher, great organiser and eminent statesman. His most valuable achievement was the compilation of a holy book for the Sikhs known as *Adi Granth* and popularly called *Granth Sahib* or *Guru Granth*. This holy book is like the Vedas, the Bible and the Quran for the Sikhs. The compilation of the *Adi Granth* formed an important landmark in the history of Sikhs. It became the sacred book of the new faith and created consciousness among the Sikhs of their being a separate community. It served as a source of divine wisdom, felicity and bliss. The *Granth* serves as the symbolic representation of the Gurus.

Guru Har Gobind, Guru Tegh Bahadur, and Guru Gobind Singh were the next Gurus of Sikhs. Guru Tegh Bahadur for not embracing Islam was beheaded on 11 November 1675 by Aurangzeb in Delhi, where now Sisganj Gurdwara is located. Guru Gobind Singh was determined to put an end to the religious oppression of the Mughal government. Guru Govind Singh's two sons were bricked up alive in the fort wall in 1704 in Srihind. Guru Govind Singh died in October 1708 and had not completed forty-two years of his life.

After Guru Govind Singh, Banda Bhadur provided leadership to the Sikhs to wage war against Mughals but soon was captured, humiliated and killed in a most barbaric way along with his four-year old son and 700 comrades. For some 40 years after the massacre of Banda and his companions at Delhi, the history of Sikhs is full of life and death struggle against the tyranny of the central and provincial governments of the Mughals. During his march against Banda in 1710, Emperor Bahadur Shah had issued a *farman* on December 10 to his *faujdar*s to kill the Sikhs at sight wherever found. This was repeated by Farrukh Siyar (1713-1719). A royal edict was issued to put all who professed the religion of Nanak to the sword and a money reward was offered for the head of every Sikh²³. But all this persecution failed to produce any depressing effect upon the Sikhs. On the other hand it steeled their power of resistance for ultimate victory.

Reverting to the issue of the impact of Sikhism in Haryana, it is to be mentioned to begin with that several Sikh Gurus visited Kurukshetra and other parts of Haryana and various Gurdwaras were built there in their memory. Guru Nanak, the founder of Sikh religion visited Kurukshetra on the occasion of solar

eclipse. In Kurukshetra, near Brahasara there stands a Gurdwara known as Sidha Bati to commemorate the visit of Guru Nanak and Mardana. Guru Amar Das, in the course of his pilgrimage to various *tirthas* visited Pehowa and Kurukshetra. At Pehowa, he made a scathing criticism of religious bigotry and the caste system. A Gurdwara at Pehowa was built to commemorate this visit. There are also two Gurdwaras in Kurukshetra named after the sixth Guru Hargobind and the seventh Guru Har Rai. Macauliffe mentions the visit of the eighth Guru Harkrishna to Panjokhera (near Ambala) on his way to Delhi. Here the Guru entered into discussion with the Brahmin through a water carrier Chhajju on question related to the philosophy of Gita²⁴. The ninth Guru, Teg Bahadur, visited Kurukshetra and its adjoining area. He stayed with a carpenter who took him to Kaithal. He preached against the use of tabacco, the 'pernicious stimulant'²⁵. He also visited Kurukshetra. The Gurdwaras at Jind, Rohtak and its surrounding areas are connected with the visits of Guru Tegh Bahadur, who passed through the Haryana tract more than once during his journeys. The Nirmal Sadhus, a sect of Sikhism, had their centre at Kurukshetra. One of the leaders, Bhai Gulab Singh, set his *asrama* at Prachitirtha. He is known to have composed about 25 works on spiritual themes of which only four exist²⁶.

Sikhism is a practical religion of universal equality and brotherhood. The Gurus exploded the age-old Indian myth of suffering for suffering's sake. It preached to uphold moral values: defend, safeguard and fight for the rights of all creatures and in particular your fellow beings. Sikhism also stands for the equal status to women in all spheres of life. It is worth mentioning that Sikh rulers were particular about justice. The first duty of the ruler in much of the Sikh literature from the 16th to the 18th century is to administer justice. The *raison d'etre* for the political struggle of the Sikhs was reinstatement of justice and protection against oppression which was implicit in the idea of *satjug*. Even in the case of an attempt on his life, Ranjit Singh had never been keen to punish a criminal with death since his accession to power²⁷.

Buddhism and the Jainism :

The people belonging to these two religions formed only a very small proportion of the total population. Buddhism was nothing more than a strange mixture of metaphysics, mysticism, morality, fortune-telling, juggling and idolatry. Mountain gods, river gods, tree gods, family gods, field gods and those gods had a more say in the daily life of the people than Buddha and his teachings. Jains were found in the eastern districts of Delhi division, Rohtak and Hisar, comprising 67 per cent of all the Jains in the British territory. Pinjore and Hansi were the other centres of Jainism. A larger proportion of Jains belonged to the trading castes. The number of Jains was considerably higher than that of the Buddhists. The Jainism, if not purely a Hindu sect, was very near to it than to the creed of Buddha. Jains, besides their own saints, worshipped the whole Hindu pantheon, including Puranic heroes, and placed their images in their temples. As to the number of Christians in Haryana region, the number again was low. Their number was only to the tune of 3,912 in 1881²⁸. Sweepers or *chuhras* were the castes which contributed the most to it.

SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS

Introduction :

This period particularly, the later half of the nineteenth century was a period of social and religious awakening and the growth of new spirit among Hindus resulting in socio-religious movements. Some important movements like Brahmo Samaj and Arya Samaj, exercised a profound influence on the Hindu social and religious life in Haryana region. Similar religious movements, as we have seen, with identical objects also originated among the Muslims and the Sikhs. The main objects of all these movements had been the eradication of social evils, spread of education, and the revival of their old religion. Unfortunately, these movements, sometimes, generated religious controversies and as a result produced in certain quarters the worst type of communalism in the region. The Hindus and the Sikhs on the one hand and the Muslims on the other, increasingly conscious of their social, economic and political rights, were sharply divided into two opposing camps and were ever ready to take cudgel with each

other even on petty things. Important movements of Hindus and Muslims are now discussed briefly

Brahmo Samaj :

The Brahmo Samaj was introduced into the Punjab from Bengal, where it was founded by Raja Ram Mohan Rai, in 1828. It was established in Lahore, in 1864. The doctrines of the Samaj were opposed to the infallibility of the Vedas and, indeed, to all scriptures, which could be interpreted to support polytheism. Their prayers were somewhat after the style of the English church service and were addressed to Brahma, the one God, meaning thereby that all people Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians might be converted to Him and became Brahmos. The Samaj did not meet any success in Haryana. Later, Dayanand's Arya Samaj overshadowed this movement in no time. The Brahmo Samaj tried to uproot the custom of infanticide and celibacy of the widows. These customs were condemned widely. They advocated inter-caste marriages. The movement failed to identify in itself with the multitude of people in the street.

Arya Samaj :

Arya Samaj, founded in Bombay in 1875, by Swami Dayanand Saraswati, had a great influence on the people of this region. Arya Samaj can easily be called "the greatest religious movement in India"²⁹. The Samaj believed in God and in doctrine of *karma* and the doctrine of transmigration of the soul. It disapproved ancestor-worship and accepted the *Vedas* as the infallible thing of true knowledge. Undoubtedly, the *Arya Samaj* was broadly a Hindu organization but was open to all, irrespective of caste, colour, creed and nationality. Arya Samaj spread quickly in Haryana region and did lot of work for the people³⁰. It repudiated caste by birth, opposed child marriage and stipulated the marriageable age at 16 for girls and at 25 for boys. It encouraged widow remarriage and paid special attention to the removal of other disabilities from which women had suffered for centuries³¹. It also took keen interest in providing education and as a result several colleges and schools were opened by them in Haryana. Arya Samaj dreamt of a regenerated India that should be as great in every way as she had been in her glorious past and wanted the followers to strive

for the realization of the ideal with face and confidence. It aimed at the formation of a new type of national character, based ultimately on Vedic thought and life. But British government had never been happy about the Arya Samaj. Many people belonging to the Samaj in service were harassed and victimized. Sometimes, their houses were also searched for objectionable and seditious material. The Arya Samaj had no political programme and kept itself aloof from the elections of the provincial legislatures and did not support the candidature of any member of a political party. The Arya Samaj spread in the region on its own strength. Its strength lays in its indigenous source, with the roots deep down in the past, adherence to the ancient ritual and a modified caste system and the retention of a not unfamiliar attitude in respect of pantheism and idolatrous worship. It also gave impetus to nationalism³².

The Satnami Movement :

The Satnami movement, based on value-oriented things in Haryana, was an offshoot of the Bhakti movement to Kabir panth³³. It did not endure long. It came in direct conflict of that British government. This sect represented a reformist, revolutionary movement against authority and privilege. It organized the common people, mostly peasants and artisans in south Haryana in a fraternity transcending the bonds of caste, creed and region. Since it did not create a hierarchy of leadership it ended after the disaster of 1672. It was on March 15, 1672 that a big army was dispatched by Aurangzeb to suppress Satnamis. Satnamis fought with valour but were not equal to the large Mughal organized army. In this battle, nearly 5,000 Satnamis were killed and Satnami movement suffered a set back³⁴. As mentioned like all value – oriented and horizontal revolts, it did not create a hierarchy of leadership which could direct it after this disaster. It disintegrated and left the field to the goal oriented vertical rebellion of the Jat *Zamindars* who continued to clash with Mughal rule for a long time.

Sufism :

It would not be out of place here to mention Sufism which aimed at removing the spirit of mistrust and isolation between the two great religions Hindu and Islam. The Sufism saw its growth in Haryana and Khwaja Muinceddin

Chisti had their centre at Hansi since right from the days of Sultanate³⁵. Historically, Sufism was a religious system which imbibed certain beliefs which are essentially of Hindu origin and which, in one form or another, were already familiar to the Hindus and the majority of the Indian Muslims converted from Hinduism who came into contact with the great *sufi* teachers. In seventeenth century, it came to be a common practice with the bulk of the Indian Muslims to be attached to some religious perceptions. Usually a *sufi*, just as the Hindus considered the guidance of a *guru* to be essential for one's spiritual salvation, so that almost every religious-minded Muslim linked himself with one *Sufi Silsila* (chain) or another as a *sine-qua-non* of respectability and religious awareness³⁶.

As stated, Hansi being the centre of *sufi* activities in the region, other towns which also felt the impact of Sufism in Haryana were Narnaul, Kaithal, Jhajjar, Hisar and Panipat³⁷. There has been a long list of distinguishing *sufi* saints who worked in the region since Sultanate days. The list of *sufi* saints of Haryana, who in the seventeenth or eighteenth century continued the propagation of their creed and worked for the moral regeneration of the people is, indeed, long. The much noble souls being Ismaili Shah (Hisar), Abushakur Silma and Shaiker Dada Saheb (Sirsa) Shah Sodha (Safidon), Hidayatullah and Shaikh Muhammad (Dadvi) Gaus Ali Sahab and Maulavi Ahmadullah (Panipat), Shaikh Muhammad (Ambala), Shaikh Abdul Quddus (Mahendergarh) Gulam Kadar Jilani (1749-1819) of Rohtak. They brought about a happy synthesis of Advaitism, Vaisnavism and Sufism³⁸.

The Wahabi Movement :

Wahabi Movement originally started in Arabia by Muhammad Ibu Abdul Wahab (1707-1787) was a significant popular movement in Haryana. Its inspirations are from Imam Ibu Taimiya of the Hanbali, a school of Muslim theology. It was a Muslim revivalist movement. Its main object, in the beginning, was the abolition of tribalism in Arabia. The doctrines of this movement were introduced in India by one Saiyad Ahmad Shah of Rai Bareilly³⁹. The Wahabi Schism held to be creed of Mohammed the same relation as the Sikh religion to the Hindu faith. They, however, abjured anything like idolatry in the

paying of honours to deceased saints, or erecting mausoleums over their remains, and admitted of no repetitions of prayers over rosaries. As a matter of religious practice, the smoking of tobacco was unlawful.

The North-west frontier was selected as the base of operation. The Wahabis in India launched a movement for the overthrow of the Sikh kingdom in Punjab and the British from India. It was a serious challenge to the British authority⁴⁰. From 1850 to 1857 the British dispatched sixteen expeditions involving 33,000 regular troops against the Wahabis. But they did not attain any considerable success. Military training was given to its volunteers. In the social and economic fields, it helped the poor peasants to resist tyranny and oppressions. Wahabis, within the British territory in Punjab, did not seem to be as fanatical in this respect as their brothers elsewhere. Wahabis by the turn of nineteenth century in the Punjab including Haryana were reported to be of still lesser importance than formerly. The British also started operations against them through the Special Police Department and by the armed expeditions. Haryana region was one of the major centres of Wahabi activities. Some of the Muslim zamindars also joined it⁴¹.

Besides Delhi, some of its important centres were Thanesar, Ambala, Pehowa and Panipat. Among the noted leaders in Haryana were Maulvi Muhammad Qasim of Panipat, Husaini of Thanesar and Muhammed Shafi of Ambala. Peeroo Khan, who was incharge of the north-western region of India, was the nucleus of all the activities of Wahabi Movement in Haryana. Thanesar was described by the British 'as one of the main depots and Jafar as "one of the chief organizers". Though born in a poor family, he considerably helped the Wahabis in fighting the British authority. With the arrest of Muhammad Jafar, the movement virtually "met its doom" after 1864⁴². Though the movement failed, yet it left its impact. It being a purely Muslim movement for the revival of their community and for establishing the Muslim rule in India against the English as well as other 'infidel', it could not be appreciated by other communities. In fact it widened the gulf between the Hindus and Muslims.

No doubt, the social and religious movements by Hindus, Muslim and Sikhs, in their own manner promoted social and religious values on rational manner. But later, these become the cause of antagonism, antipathy and jealousy. And the communities were divided sharply. The gulf created between these communities was further widened by the political policy of *divide et impera* of the British government. And result had been that Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs started to think them different entities, which, in later years, fuelled communal forces in the region.

RELIGIOUS AND SECULAR LITERATURE

Haryana produced several literary figures and writers dealing with religious matters during the period. Even if we trace back history of the region, then it would be discovered that there had been literary figures in the region of substance. Among the prominent literary persons, Thakura Pheru was one, who was born at Kannana, a small village situated about 8 Kms from Charkhi Dadri in district Mahendergarh in a Vaishya caste in thirteenth century⁴³. He was one of the greatest scholars of India. He excelled in management of treasury and mint and was appointed an officer by Alauddin Khalji. He wrote a small book comprising 28 chaupais and one chhappya in Apabhramsh. He has dealt in these with gems, their types, places of availability, value, effects, qualities, defects etc. Chauranginatha, a resident of Asthal Bhoar (district Rohtak) also flourished in the same century. His work give an exposition of the Nirguna philosophy⁴⁴. He had many accomplished works to his credit. Then he was followed by another religious literary figure of the Nath order – Mastanatha, whose noteworthy composition was Baniyan⁴⁵. Isardasa of Faridabad, who wrote a number of works, was born during the fourteenth century. In fifteenth century, the most outstanding poet of Hindi, Surdas, was born in Sihi village in Faridabad. Apabhramsa was another poet belonging to Hisar of the sixteenth century. Virbhan of Narnaul, Maldev of Sirsa, Haridaya Ram alias Ram Kavi of Gharaunda, all writers were born in sixteenth century. Rup Chand Pande of Ambala district, Anandaghana of Sirsa, Surdas of Karnal, Banarsi Das of Biholi

(near Rohtak) and Khadgasena of Narnaul all born in seventeenth century deserve mention.

Garib Das and Nischal Das born in 1717 and 1791, respectively, were the greatest poet-saints of the region. Garib Das was born in a Jat family at Chhudani village in Jhajjar⁴⁶. His padas (religious hymns and songs) running into thousands (17,000 to 18,500) give a brilliant exposition of the Nirguna philosophy⁴⁷. There is no other saint poet of medieval India who has written in such abundance covering so many facets of spiritual life. He, after his name, founded a sect known as Garibdasi which spread and established branches at various places in Haryana, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Delhi and even in Gujarat. Garib Das preached universalism. He stood for the fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man. He advocated close understanding between various religions and unity and equality between the rich and the poor, the high and low. He condemned hatred and bitterness between different creeds. He was like Kabir in several respects. He tirelessly worked to bring about a healthy synthesis between the progressive elements of Hinduism and Islam and hence he easily found followers both among Hindus and Muslims⁴⁸. He advocated that it was not necessary to give up worldly life in order to realize God. He can be achieved in any walk of life. His songs are melodious and reflect a happy reconciliation of worldly and spiritual life.

Mohan Singh in his book 'An Introduction to Punjab literature' says this about Garib Das "Garib Das was the last of the Hindu Raj Yogis and Bhakta poet who had as great mastery of popular poetic language and style as Ghulam Farid had, but whose range of thought and knowledge of other Indian languages was greater than that of any other Indian poet of Medieval India, the other poet who comes near to him being Shah Qayam Chisti of Kari Goan in Bombay." Similarly, K.C.Gupta who has written biography of Garib Das says "Shri Garib Das was a true saint in the sense that he never sought the patronage of any court. During his life-time, many invasions and upheavals took place...But we do not find a single reference to events to which he was almost an eye witness.....although he was born in a Hindu Jat family and lived his whole life in Haryana in the eighteenth century, his songs transcend all sectarian, spatial and

temporal bounds and express men's eternal seeking for the Divine.” His songs reflect a happy reconciliation of worldly and spiritual life⁴⁹.

As mentioned, Nischal Das was another Saint born in Haryana in eighteenth century. He was born in 1791, at Kungad in Hansi tehsil again in a Jat family like Gardb Das. He received his education in the fields of Sankhya, Nyaya, Vyakarana and Vedanta at Varanasi⁵⁰. He was a prolific writer in Sanskrit as well as Hindi. His Sanskrit works include Isopanisad, Kathopanisad, Mahabharata (all commentaries), Vrittavivarana, Vrttidipika and Ayurveda, but unfortunately these have not yet been traced. His distinctive contributions to the Hindi literature are the philosophical treatises, Vicharasagara and Vrttiprabhakara and Mukti Prakasa – the first has since been translated in Marathi, Bengali and English. It may be mentioned here that Swami Vivekanand was greatly influenced by Nischal Das's contribution, and considered his Vicharasagara as the ‘most influential work that has been written in any language within the last three centuries’⁵¹. He was a follower of Dadupantha and one of his disciples was Ram Singh, the Raja of Bundi. Later Garib Das's son (Ajit Singh) carried forward the family legacy and composed a number of works. On devotional themes of which the most important is Janmakatha (the life story of the Saint Garib Das). Dayal Das, a disciple of Garib Das composed Vicharaprakasa (or pariksa), an exposition of the Advaita philosophy Nityananda of Narnaul, the author of Satyasiddhanta Prakasa and Barakhadi made noteworthy contribution to the Nirgun literature.

During this period, there took place growth of Haryanvi and also of Urdu literature. The padas (or devotional songs) of Saint Dedhraj of Gharsu (near Narnaul) in Ahirawati, of Baba Haridas in Bangru; and of Gulam Rangila in Mewati, came under this category. The noted contribution in Urdu were by Muhammad Afzal (1539-1629) of Panipat (the author of Bikata Kahani); his contemporary Shaikh Jivan (the author of Fiquaba-i-Hindi, Mahsharnama, Das lanama, Khwabnama and Dabirnama-i-Bibi Fatima); Abdul Ves of Hansi, the editor of first Urdu – Hindi dictionary and the poets of humour – Mir Jafar ‘Jatal’ (1659-1713) and his brother Abdul Jabil ‘Jatal’ of Narnaul⁵².

Several scholars continued to maintain literary tradition in succeeding periods. Ram Das of Agroha, Umadas of Thanesar, Sahah Singh, Sambbudas and Atma Singh of Jind, Nanda and Mukunda of Hisar, Yugal Kishore Bhat of Kaithal, Babu Balmukand Gupta of Jhajjar were some prominent scholars. Babu Balmukand, who published a weekly paper from Calcutta was considered by R.C. Majumdar as 'the most influential Hindi newspaper during the last closing decades of the nineteenth century'⁵³. His contribution to Hindi Journalism and literature is unique. He was a great nationalist Through his essays, he aroused political consciousness and national awareness. Haryana also produced several Urdu scholars. Rao Man Singh of Rewari, Ghulam Nabi Jafar Khan of Thanesar, Altaf Husain Hali and Mir Mehdi Majruh of Panipat. Mir Mjruh was a pupil of Mirja Galib. His letters to Ghalib are also valuable.

While picking up the main threads of these religions and the literature concerning each, it is apparent that Islamic religious literature was rarely addressed to the peasants, if at all. However, others following Kabir, Guru Nanak etc. evinced interests in the peasantry. Satnamis of Narnaul, who are regarded as an offshoot of Kabir Panthis, had an unmistakable peasant constituency. The Sikh panth had even a stronger constituency of Jat peasantry. Many peasants joined these panths possibly to break out of the lower social status assigned to them in the traditional order. It was also observed that religion became a rallying point on several occasions in the region. Even 1857 revolt was thought to be a war of religion by the Hindu and Muslim sepoys as well as the people in the country side. They became suspicious even before the revolt of 1857, that British were trying to destroy their religion and culture through social legislation. Examples of this was seen in the abolition of *Sati*, the legislation of widow remarriage, the 1850 law enabling a convert to Christianity, law relating to ancestral property etc.

SECTION II

ARCHITECTURE

Later Mughal Architecture :

Now we proceed to reconstruct architectural activities of the region during this period. Mughals were keen lovers of art of architecture that represents a happy synthesis of Indo-Muslim art tradition. Under Mughals, architecture in India reached a unity and completeness which makes the story of the architectural style that developed under the august patronage was quite fascinating and instructive. It was closely associated with religion. Monuments in Delhi, Agra, Fatehpur Sikri (city of victory), Aurangabad, Srinagar etc. stand as testimony of it. However, Aurangzeb's accession to the throne marks the end of rich harvest in building art. He had none of his father's passion for architecture. Not only that, the region of Aurangzeb saw the rapid dissolution of the Mughal architectural style. And the Mughals that followed Aurangzeb death had also neither time, nor opportunity to go in for monuments and new forts, mosques and other buildings. And under them, the general encouragement given by the predecessors to the arts was almost withdrawn. The later Mughal Emperors could pay hardly any attention to huge building projects. The life and spirit of the Mughal architectural style had already gone and the outer cell was collapsed. The tomb of SafdarJang at Delhi erected about 1754, is perhaps the most important building of this period. This perhaps was the last effort to recall the old spirit of the style, but in this it failed miserably. There was no hope of recovery even if the old glamour, and the architectural style associated with the name of the grand Mughals became extinct long before the last of the dynasty.

While evaluating architectural activities concerning Haryana, present day position is that it lacks architectural remains pertaining to the ancient period. Hardly any temple or a shrine is discovered in original form. But this was not true of the Muhammadan times as there are ample literary and epigraphical evidences to show that the region did not lack interest in architectural activities. Temples at Kalayat belonging to the early medieval phase, now buried in the ground, provide a glance of architectural style of the region. These are perhaps

the only serving relics of architecture of the early medieval period. But inscription of the time claims to have evidences of several temples in Thanesar, Phewa, Kalayat, Sirsa, Pinjore and Hansi⁵⁴, which were destroyed and plundered by Mohmed Gazni and subsequent invaders. Among the secular architecture, the construction of forts and fortifications, *Kos* minars, Gurdwaras, bridges, tanks, wells and other minor structures are also found in Haryana region. In the shadow of Aravali hills, Shona has a number of tombs, mosques, *sarais*, hot water springs and other structures, constructed during the medieval period. Important monuments at Hisar, built during the times of Firuz Shah are Latki-Masjid, the Kotla and the Hauskhash. Tomb of Ibrahim at Narnaul built by Sher Shah Suri (1538-46) is imposing architectural monument. Chahar Qutab – a tomb at Hansi is very impressive. The *dargah* here celebrates the annual fair⁵⁵. A *Baoli* at Meham, Sayyad Kalan (a chatardar of Saha jhan) got it constructed in 1656 at a cost of Rs. 89/- only. It is marvelous design structure of water conservation. Similarly, tomb of Abu Ali Shah at Panipat is a marvelous piece of art. About eight Kms of town of Panipat is situated the Badshah Sarai – its flanking towers and projection after Qutab fashion and the small ones at each end of the elevation are unique. The whole building is now in ruin⁵⁶. The tomb of Shaikh Chehali and Madrasa are situated on the part of the old fort of Thanesar. In the opinion of Cunningham ‘the white marble and the noble position combined, make it one of the striking and picturesque monuments in north India’⁵⁷. The tomb of the Saint Shaikh Chehali was repaved by John Dawkins in 1854. Towards south of the tomb enclosures on a lower level is the Madrasa. The whole building is made of bricks⁵⁸. Shaikh Chehali believed to be the spiritual teacher of the Mughal prince Dara Shaikoh. Now the entire building is under the control of Central government and administered by ASI.

Muslim monuments are also found in Kaithal, Sohna, Sadhaura, Hani, Panipat, Thanesar, Jhajjar and Pinjore. In the natural setting of Pinjore, a garden (now Pinjore Garden), the only surviving monument almost in its original design, was laid out in typical stepped garden pattern of the late Mughal style of Aurangzeb’s time⁵⁹. *Kos* Minars erected by the Mughal Emperor in seventeenth

century along the main routes of G.T. road are also found in Haryana. According to Archaeological Survey of India Report, there exist 49 *Kos* minars in Haryana on the Delhi-Ambala and Delhi-Agra highways. They are in dilapidated condition. The *Kos* minars that present a great travel story need an immediate exercise to check their status, and retrieve them from oblivion. Mughal bridge (Pul) or locally called Badshahi Pul were also erected in Haryana region during 17th century to facilitate travelers. There is one such bridge on the G.R.road (now in disuse) at Madhuoban near Karnal. Another bridge is at Khwaza Sarai (Atmadpur) in Faridabad tehsil. This is a stone bridge of three arches which are structurally sound. The piers of the central arch are strengthened by buttresses whose position is marked above by four small minors with domed tops. Now this is under the control of Archeological Survey of India (ASI)⁶⁰.

An old fort at Karnal built by Raja Gajpat Singh of Jind in 1764 is also notable building. At Farrukhnagar there are two important buildings known as Sheesh Mahal and the other *baoli* of Gaus Ali Shah. The construction of the *baoli* is traditionally attributed to its Jat ruler Raja Suraj Mal of Bharatpur who occupied the town in 1757, for a few years. The tank was cleaned out about a century later, in 1861. The gate at Panipat called Bab-I-Faiz gate was built by Nawab Sadiq in 1737. It consists of two arched openings placed at either end of the passage. The gateway served as the entrance of the town of Panipat. The sides of the outer multi foiled arch are decorated with panels and arched recesses while the inner one has the casing of red sand stone⁶¹. Chatta Mukand Das is a Muslim structure at Narnaul of the 17th century⁶².

Asthal Bohar Math situated about 3 Kms from Rohtak has a cluster of ancient, medieval and modern buildings constructed by the Nath cult of the Asthal over the last several hundred years. The main building is a multistoried monument of the Samadhi of Sri Baba Mastha Nath, a highly complex mixture of Hindu-Muslim architecture. Smadhi of Baba Chaurangi Nath is nearby.

Two forts constructed during this period one at Mahendergarh and other at Ballabhgarh (Nahar Singh's fort) are also impressive and in good condition. Fort at Mahendergarh (Kanod) is a later-Mughal fort built by some local chief under

the institute of Mughal masters. Major Hodson of the British forces that stormed Mahendergarh in 1857, had rated the fort as “one of the best kept and strongest forts in India”. It is a government property now and is being used for office purposes. Fort at Ballabgarh with octagonal towers and battlemented walls was built by Raja Ballu Singh, the founder of Jat State of Ballabgarh in the later Mughal times. It is in good condition and is being used as an office. A building known as Katla Balwant Rai, at Hansi, constructed during (1837-1845) is an huge structure⁶³. Haveli of Rao Tul Ram is a magnificent multistoried building⁶⁴. Haridas Dadu Panth Dera at Ranila near Bhiwani established in Samat 1780, has a haveli type building which has architectural merit. Several temples and Gurdwaras with gilded domes and artistic interior make up also were built during this period. Sarap Daman Nag Mandir, near Jind constructed by Raja of Jind Riyasat in 1803 depicts good architectural beauty Bhimeshwari Devi temple at Beri near Rohtak, built in Rajasthani haveli style is very impressive⁶⁵. Sikh Gurudwra of Chhathi Padshahi at Kurukshetra is of architecture merit. It is evident that despite frequent political turmoil and instability, architectural activities in the region continued to take place though in small number. In most of the buildings there is the use of deep red, grey and white stone, encaustic tile-work, painted ceiling with excellent brush work, and subtle lapidary which all together give a richness that is unique among such buildings in Haryana⁶⁶. However, it is also evident that the art of this period has failed in conveying the qualitative value system and cultural ethos of the people i.e. contemporary society as a whole. It was mostly to glorify the fame of its opulent patrons.

British Architectural Style :

Architecture in Haryana under British rule (1803-1857) can conveniently be classified into two –secular architecture and religious architecture. As far as the secular architecture is concerned, it was mostly planned in Haryana on European lines. Karnal can claim to be first modern town in Haryana in 1806. The Britishers established their military cantonment and constructed modern houses, barracks and shopping centres. Ochterlony House and Adams House are one of those buildings which exist even today. There are palatial mansions with

architectural merit⁶⁷. Sirsa was yet another modern town built up in 1837. John Methodist Church, clock tower (ghauta ghar) are important buildings representing English architecture in the city. Lakhi tank is another historical place in Sirsa where Lakhi *Banjara* used to encamp during his journeys⁶⁸. Then in 1843, Ambala cantonment was laid out covering an area of 7,220 acres. Mosonic Hall, the Sirhind Club, the Town Hall, Public Library, Dak Bungalow are quite impressive. Buildings at Rohtak and Hisar were constructed in compatible with tropical climate⁶⁹. This style in architecture was also followed by the people with means who built up *kothis* or bungalows on European fashion. But the businessmen and traditional classes of people clung to the old style of building up *havelis* which were generally multistoryed. The plan of construction of *pucca* houses of the rich and middle followed the same pattern: main gate, *poli* then *angan*, *baithacs* closed rooms and so on. These houses had small kitchen, *rasoi*, at one end and often cattle-shed or open *than* on the other. The poor had usually one room houses of mud-bricks and thatched roofs. *Chhapars* and *Jhonpiris* also served as dwelling places for the extreme poor⁷⁰. People had the habit to sleep at night in the open under the sky. A traveler of Bengal army who travelled to Lahore via Ambala in 1808 recorded "The town (Ambala) is large and populous, the houses are mostly built of burnt bricks. The streets are so narrow as scarcely to afford room for the passage of an elephant. The inhabitants bear a high character of hospitality and kindness to the travelers. It is very pleasing to travel through the towns and villages of the country⁷¹.

Regarding religious buildings, the church of St. James at Karnal (1806) is the earliest. It is having a spacious hall and about 100 feet high tower supporting large ornamental cross⁷². St. Paul's church of Ambala is another quite impressive, semi-gothic structure having a capacity to accommodate more than a thousand persons. This grand building was destroyed in 1971 during air raids by Pakistan⁷³. Zahaz Mahal at Hisar built by George Thomas in 1790s is a mixture of Rajput and English architecture. Aliwadi Masjid at Gurgaon was constructed around 1850. Jama Masjid at Ferozepore Jirkha with later Mughal touch is equally impressive. The central mosque at Palwal, the Bayar Wali mosque at

Jhajjar and the Nai Mosque at Panipat are good specimens of the religious architecture of this period⁷⁴. Manji Sahib at Lakhan Majra and ninth Padshahi are of architectural merit.

It is revealed that Haryana made substantial contribution to art and architecture in the medieval times. But then during the later Mughal period, the growth was not sustained due to variety of reasons as adumbrated in the text. Unfortunately, we have also not taken care of these precious monuments as we ought to have done. Most of these are in bad shape.

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CHAPTER – SIX

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This chapter attempts to recapitulate the entire analysis, major findings as detailed in the preceding chapters, and to draw some of the more significant conclusions emerging therefrom.

INTRODUCTION

Haryana, which is one of the smallest states of the Indian Union, came into existence as an independent political entity on 1st November 1966, as a result of bifurcation of erstwhile Punjab State. Though small in size, Haryana had been in focus all through the ages: ancient, medieval and modern times. Historically, Haryana region remained strategic because of its location in the north and that fell on the route of invaders to capture and reign Delhi – a seat of power for kings and rulers of all hues. The *Vedic* land of Haryana has been a cradle of Indian culture and civilization. The region always remained a rendezvous for diverse races, cultures and faiths. It was in Kurukshetra in Haryana that the battle of *Mahabharata* was fought and Lord Krishna gave the message of *Bhagvadgita* to the humanity. The saints and seers meditated on the banks of the river *Sarasvati*, that once flowed through this region. The three battles of Panipat fought on the soil of Haryana changed entirely the fortune not only of this region but the whole of India. The region, over the ages, has passed through several vicissitudes and has been a witness to the rise and fall of republics and dynasties. But despite its strategic location, importance and rich contribution, it remained neglected historically, as it never enjoyed an independent political status. In all historical writings, the region was always treated as a sub-region or a sub-tract of Punjab.

The present research work is designed to relate in a dispassionate and systematic manner the socio-economic and other conditions of the Haryana region during the later Mughal period (1707-1857). This sub-period of Mughal history is chosen for the study as it remained an eventful period prey to chaos, full of confusion, intrigues and turbulences. This period was a twilight which witnessed

the end of Mughal empire, the rise and fall of Sikhs, Marathas and Jats powers and emergence and domination of British rule. This period between two empires, the later Mughal and the British covering one hundred and fifty years had been the paradise of free looters including foreign invaders like Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Abdali. They spread horror and committed rapine in the region and the people had suffered heavily and faced hardship, anarchy and agony. The period also saw the uprising and patriotism of the local people who rose to the occasion and sacrificed their lives while defending their mother-land.

Unfortunately, the historical facts, socio-economic and religious conditions of the region have not been identified well, some recent efforts notwithstanding. This necessitated this research work as to dig out the broader canvas to the regional events to present the true picture of this period. The study, therefore, attempts, to fill up this gap. This would also meet the ever growing demand and also the need of writing and re-writing the regional history in view of vast knowledge and information that now is available.

For writing thesis, proper research methodology is needed suited to the research problem. The research design adopted for the present study is a mixture (mixed-method research) of descriptive and explorative type. Doing historical research these days, is not merely narration of past political history of events, deeds and misdeeds of ruling monarchs but lays equal emphasis on social, economic, religious and cultural conditions in an integrated manner, for deeper insight. This is how historical research comes closer to the society.

As to the sources of records and information, this study includes both unpublished and published material. Material was meticulously collected, and marshaled from Haryana State Archives, Punjab State Archives, National Archives of India, Indian Council for Historical Research (ICHR) and several universities and research Institutes in the region. Besides, records at division level, and district records and district gazetteers were consulted. Archaeological sources: epigraphy and inscription explored and produced by scholars of Haryana history have been gleaned and appropriately used to construct the history of the region.

SUMMARY

In order to present a cohesive and coherent look to the research plan, results and findings, the entire thesis has been divided into six well-knit chapters, each dealing with different subject matter of the problem. Chapter one is introductory in nature, giving a brief account of the state of Haryana, its geographical and other general features. It then spells out, through separate section, the steps employed in the process of this research work such as need of the study, objectives and research methodology. It also presents a brief review of the relevant work done by earlier scholars in this area. Chapter two presents a detailed view of the political history of the Haryana region starting with the death of Aurangzeb in 1707 to the final extinct of Mughal empire in 1857, covering a period of one hundred and fifty years. For the sake of analysis and convenience the entire period has been divided into three well-defined periods. Period I commences with the death of Aurangzeb in 1707 till the third battle of Panipat in 1761. Period begins soon after the battle of Panipat till the taking over by the Britishers the Haryana in 1803. Period III gives an account of the British administration, their relationship with the titular Mughal empire and the revolt of 1857.

Chapter three brings out vividly the various aspects of social life and social institutions – the village, the family, marriage, caste-system and caste organization among prominent religions of Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs, position of women in society, taboos and customs, dresses and ornaments, folk arts and culture. It is observed that where several social conditions and rituals had a remarkable record of continuity from early medieval to the later Mughal period, others remained under great stress and pressures due to unsettled conditions and disequilibrium in the society. Education which was more religious in the beginning became more secular in character with the coming of British rule and also started expanding. Notably, despite weak education system, literature continued to flow depicting different aspects of the society in the region.

Chapter four dwells upon the economic conditions of the people of the region during the period under study. Issues such as agriculture and allied

activities, industries, trade and communication, tools and technology, indebtedness and poverty etc., have been dealt with. By and large, there had been crisis throughout this period on all economic fronts. Agriculture being the mainstay of the people, agrarian crisis coupled with famines, several times, tended to impair the economic and administrative stability of the region. The land revenue was collected by the authorities not with the object of augmenting production or the economic growth but mainly for their own conspicuous consumption. The bad agricultural situation also weakened badly the military power of the Mughals so much so that it was left with little vitality to resist the revolts from within and aggression from outside. Household cottage and small industries, mainly based on agriculture, also suffered a set back. During the early British rule, the economic policy had systematically drained out wealth from India. The cotton and other major industries in the region were completely shattered by the British as they resorted to heavy import duty on the Indian goods and products and diverted export from finished products to raw material only. Stagnation of agriculture, ruin of industry and reversal of trade rendered the people unemployed and without any work on vast scale.

Chapter five attempts to illustrate the emergent religious realm that occupied an important place in the conduct of social behaviour of the people in the society. The study reveals that along with three major religions: Hindu, Muslim and Sikh, there were multitude of sects in the region. It also covered in its fold various social and spiritual and other reforms/movements to fight against social evils, tyranny and exploitation of the local people by its rulers. It also provides details of architectural style of the region. The administration during the period under review did not pay much heed to patronize architecture due mainly to instability in the region causing clear sign of deterioration in these activities. The architecture during the British period also lacked imagination and technical skill and indigenous art suffered miserably.

Chapter sixth, while presenting the summary of the research work, comes out with several noteworthy and useful inferences and conclusions emerging from the study.

CONCLUSIONS

This research work, running through preceding five chapters, has led to some significant conclusions as adduced hereunder:

1. Haryana region comprising the present Haryana state had been in focus all through the ages due to its geo-political strategic location. It has been a cradle of civilization and contributed immensely to the dynamics of socio-economic-religious facets of the life of the people in the country. However, its history remained blurred as Haryana had never been an independent composite political entity before as it exists today.
2. The Haryana region experienced utter confusion and disorder during the period of study. The period saw the decline and then extinct of the Mughal Empire, emergence of British colonial rule, foreign invasions, uprising, conflict collusion and participation of local powers in the vortex of power game. Later Mughals served as titular heads with nominal status of a king. Local people suffered heavily against the tyranny and ruthless exploitation of its rulers. In Haryana, even for a small ripple in public place invited a sledge hammer for its suppression. This resulted into the eruption of the revolt of 1857 that ignited from Haryana and whose impact at all India level had been stupendous. The revolt has been remarkable for many reasons. The movement was completely devoid of any trace of regional or religious chauvinism. This historical event infused the spirit of nationalism and patriotism among the masses. The revolt also fostered better communal relationship between Hindus and Muslims, to oust foreign power and signaled the end of the East India Company. However, role of several chiefs, *Nawabs* and *Jagirdars* in the movement had been dubious as they behaved in a manner most unbecoming of the leaders of the people.
3. The emergence and resistance of local powers of Jats, Ahirs and Sikhs had great impact on rural and urban population of the region as they

had a clear message that they can be drawn into an apparatus that created scope for individual and group initiative for their liberation. They faced the invaders heroically. And subsequently the peasants, artisans, traders, writers and others experienced a novel experience of acquiring the goal of independence. though it was another matter that it came much later.

4. Social structure and culture during the period under study, although not entirely new or radically different from the preceding period, were certainly under great strain due to unsettled conditions in the region. Society was divided into several religions and castes. The proliferation of caste had become a special feature of social system because of the dislocation and misuse of sources of production. Caste system can easily be attributed to the unchangeableness of the society in the region. There were, in fact, flowing two currents in social organizations. If one was of traditionalism and rigidity, the other was of somewhat dynamic and progressive character. And we find that both the tendencies were operative in various spheres of society.
5. The villages in the region were self-sufficient units which formed an enduring organization. The role of *Panchayat* diminished in the early British period. The family ties were very strong, particularly, in peasantry and business classes. Joint-family system, consisting of three or more generations with several collaterals, lived under the same roof having greater deal of mutual understanding among various members. The system was very near to the ideal of feudal society. Marriages were performed within their own castes and inter-caste marriages and liaison were regarded as illegal. This perpetuated the caste system in the region. The castes were locked by economic and religious ties into an intimate interdependence and both the groups cared for the existence and well-being of each other. Social evils such as *sati partha*, veiling system, child marriage, infanticide and illiteracy and superstitions very widely prevalent.

6. Status of women during this period experienced definite deterioration from the past and their condition in the society was far from satisfactory from birth to death. Ideologically, women were considered to be completely inferior species, inferior to the male, having no identity of their own. Their early marriage and conservatism of the people also kept women away from education.
7. Interestingly enough, despite weak educational system that totally ignored the indigenous system and the importance of mass education, the region produced several notable literary figures in all languages viz., Hindi, Sanskrit, Urdu and Persian. Some of them gave a brilliant exposition of the philosophy of life and other serious issues in a lucid and simpler style. Their works and philosophy became very popular not only within the region but also other adjoining provinces as well. Whereas Islamic literature was rarely addressed to the peasants, Hindu and Sikh literature evinced interest in the peasantry. The contemporary literature also aroused political consciousness and national awareness. And the impact of this remained clearly visible on the social set-up.
8. While the economic policies pursued by the later Mughals during 18th century, based on feudalistic mode of production, were imprudent, the same were based on colonial and commercial exploitation of resources during British rule leading to poverty of the people and draining out of the wealth of the region. Economic condition of the common people was deplorable. While nobles and bureaucracy - a microscopic minority, rolled in wealth and extravagant, the resource producing class of agriculturists, artisans and labour suffered from poverty, deprivation, hunger and indebtedness. Inequalities prevailed in myriadal form where people forming upper strata consolidated their position through high degree of literacy and the use of skill. Agriculture was the main stay of the people followed by cottage industries and trade. Though arable land was enough as to the low

level of population and density, the agricultural operations were conducted under highly unsatisfactory conditions. Land revenues were exorbitant and exploitative and less than 50 per cent of the goods produced remained with the peasants. The revenue demand was regulated by the need of government and not always by the capabilities of the soil and the farmers. The authorities directed their attention towards the peasants and not to the agrarian conditions. The landlords and government authorities were interested in extracting high rents leaving a pittance with the cultivators. This created in Indian agriculture a built in depression like situation. The new agrarian relations were counter productive, disincentive ridden and retrogressive causing retardation of agricultural development in the region. The class struggle among peasantry, money lenders and agricultural labour also intensified due to calculated policy particularly of the British and thus the heterogeneous peasantry was incapable of confronting the despotic state. This also affected the village artisans and menials too as they were dependent upon the peasantry for their subsistence. Economic backwardness of the region can safely be attributed to the retrogressive policies of the governments.

9. Due to extraordinary discriminatory policies, industry and trade were completely shattered. The cotton and handloom household industry, which was vibrant in pre-British period having large and glorious tradition and a symbolic of regional culture, suffered badly and situation was quite pathetic. The destruction of handicraft even was one of the basic causes of famines that occurred frequently in Haryana. This had far reaching economic consequences. The destruction of handicraft led to unemployment on a vast scale reducing the purchasing power of the people. Absence of technological innovation, weak enterprising class and low level of capital formation contributed to the industrial economy of the region as a whole growing rather slowly.

10. Trade is termed as an engine of economic growth. The direction and volume of trade is determined, among other factors, chiefly due to the pattern of demand and needs of the people. As far as domestic trade is concerned, it was quite limited as in a predominately agricultural economy in which local needs were satisfied locally and the scope for the functioning of the market system was extremely limited. Foreign trade was in bad shape due to lack of interest and imprudent economic policy on the part of Mughal Emperors. They had no experience of sea naval and port. India's trade in the early years of this period was confined to Islamic countries only. Religious taboos also hindered the expansion of foreign trade. The discriminatory policies of the English later made the situation quite worse. Trade in fact was the tool that was the cause and means of British rise to power. They manipulated international trade from India in their favour by resorting to malpractices, unfair competition, imposing high tariffs etc. Under the policy, English ousted native traders and merchants both from in-land and overseas trade. Even the cheap labour availability and the important trade routes of the region could not help to boost export. The very act of exporting raw material and importing finished goods completely reversed the trade pattern for India and Haryana region was no exception to this. Notably, whereas, Mughals did not draw away the wealth of resources of the region in the name of trade, Britishers did so and also uprooted the sources of production. There remained complete subordination of natural capital under their foreign business interest. The feudal aristocracy which controlled wealth was extravagant and hardly used it for trade and productive purposes. This all combined, conspired towards the loss of handicrafts, industries, trade and commerce in the region.
11. People followed various religions and sects. As majority of Muslims were converts from Hindus in the region at different points of time, both had common religious beliefs and practices that strengthened the

secular outlook of the people. Sikhism, the third important religion in the region was somewhat more than a religion with political and military ambitions. The impact of Sikhism was both deep and intense but confined only to the north-west part of the Haryana region. Religion had been so potent a force that this became a rallying point for the masses on several occasions in the region. People of the area rose when they were convinced that British were trying to destroy their religion and culture through social legislations. Even 1857 revolt was thought to be a war of religion by the Hindus and Muslims alike. However, the intelligent political policy of the *divide et empera* of the British government was successful in creating and widening the gulf between different religions and communities. Differences also surfaced during the pre-British period. The impact of religion remained clearly visible on social set-up.

12. Religious and social movements launched under the auspices of these religions to eradicate social evils, superstitions, to remove mistrust among different sects and correct distortions in religions, were glore in the region. These had great impact on the society. These movements, as a matter of fact, were not isolated phenomena, they were loaded with wider political and economic considerations. No doubt, these movements by Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs, in their own manner, promoted social and religious values in rational manner. But later these became the cause of antagonism, antipathy and jealousy. And the result had been that Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs started to think them different entities, which, on several occasions, fuelled communal forces in the regions.
13. Later Mughals, unlike their ancestors, had no passion for architecture : monuments, forts, palaces, mosques, temples and other public buildings. They did not patronize architecture and artisans, and the general encouragement given by the earlier Mughals to promote art and architecture was also withdrawn. Not only that, they resorted to

large scale destruction of the images and sculptors in the region. Preconditions and requirements for undertaking these ventures like peace, tranquility, freedom were missing in the region during the period under review. The peasantry in the region which was, overwhelmingly, non-sectarian due to its nature of work culture also did not evince much interest in art and architectural activities. For all these reasons, artistic and architectural activities in the region were quite limited. Later, the situation also did not improve even after the advent of British. The architecture evolved by them lacked imagination and technical skill. On the whole, the architectural art suffered a set back during the period. Not only that, the majestic architectural building's murals and paintings in which the region does not lack, belonging to medieval times were also not properly looked after, maintained and preserved for posterity.

14. With numerous negativities, the positive contribution made by two empires to the Haryana region during this period was quite small and incidental. Since Mughals spent considerable time in war zone in power game and as such learnt to innovate in military hardwares, arms, war gadgets and equipments. Britishers' contribution could be traced in the field of education, means of communication and transportation, literature and printing technology. But only few were benefited and the masses, by and large, remained unaffected and suffered impoverishment and deprivation.

To sum up, the entire later Mughal period can be characterized as a long period of socio-economic instability and disequilibrium. This was the saddest and dreadful period in the history of Haryana. The period was full of chaos, social and grievous economic disorder in which Haryanvis suffered from untold deprivation, miseries, tyranny, helplessness, ruthless exploitation, agony and indignation with no immediate redemption in sight. Both Mughals and British had no genuine concern for the people of this area. They even tried hard to

disintegrate the social fabric and resorted to reckless exploitation of resources. The major difference, however, was that whereas the Mughal rulers tried to Indianize themselves, the British kept a distance between them and the local people, i.e., foreign ruler and Indian subjects. Class relations between the people and the ruling class may be termed as communal based agrarian relations. The whole period was just like a drama in which local people viz., Jats, Ahirs, Sikhs, Muslims and people from other parts of the country such as Marathas and Rohillas, foreign invaders and Britishers played their shifting roles as per their judgement, intrigues, ambition, greed, opulence and aggrandizement. And the region continued to suffer and groan during those long one hundred and fifty years to which our study pertains.

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APPENDIX

Appendix

MONUMENTS – LATER MUGHAL PERIOD

Plate No.	Description	Location
1.	Pinjore Garden	Pinjore
2.	Gurdwara Chhathi Patsahi	Kurukshetra
3.	Tomb of Shikh Chehali	Kurukshetra
4.	Mughal Pul	Madhuban
5.	Cantonment Church Tower	Karnal
6.	Kos Minar	G.R.Road
7.	Baba-I-Faiz Gate	Panipat
8.	Hansi Branch of Jamuna Canal	Hansi
9.	Sarap Daman Mandir	Near Jind
10.	Kotla Balwant Rai	Hansi
11.	Clock Tower (<i>Ghanta Ghar</i>)	Sirsa
12.	Hari Das Dadu Panthi Dera	Ranila (Bhiwani)
13.	Baoli	Meham
14.	Smadhi of Baba Chaurangi Nath	Asthal Bohar
15.	Rai Bal Mukund Chhata	Narnaul
16.	Baoli	Farrukhnagar
17.	Raja Nahar Singh's Fort	Ballabhgarh
18.	Rao Tula Ram's Haveli	Rewari
19.	Fort	Mahendergarh
20.	Third Battle of Panipat Memorial	Panipat (<i>Kala Amb</i>)

PLATE NO. – 1

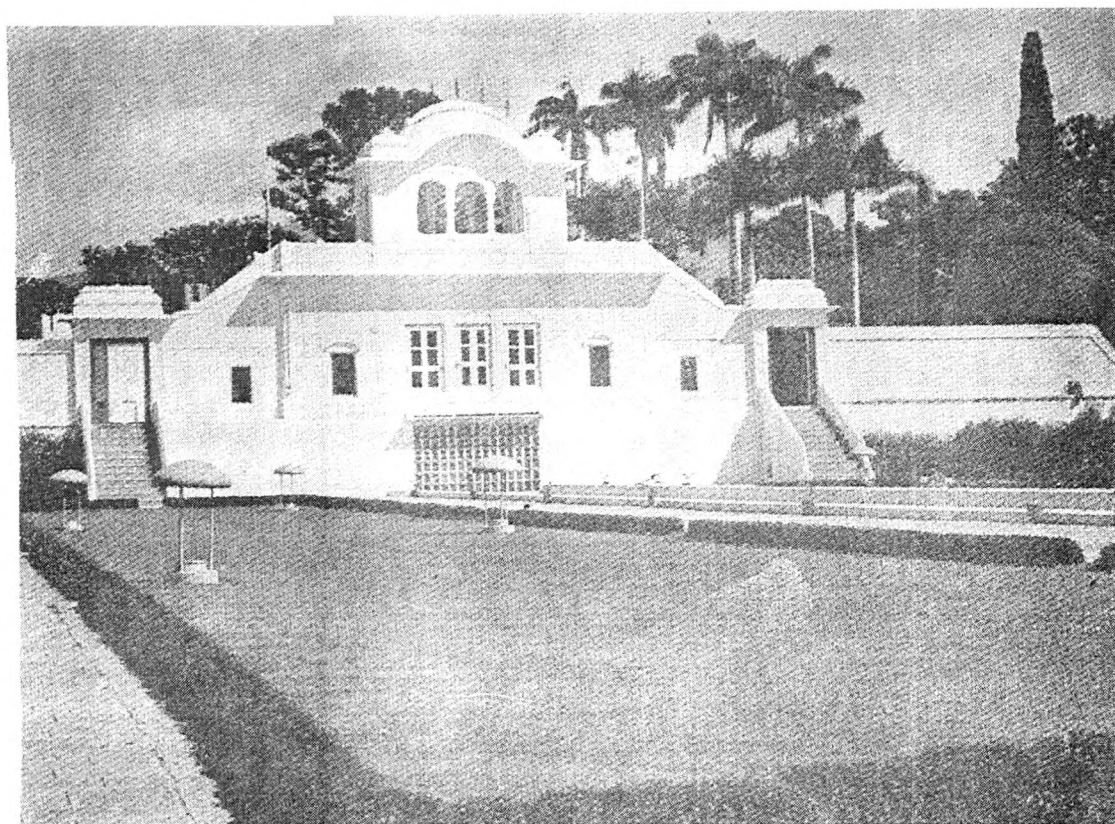
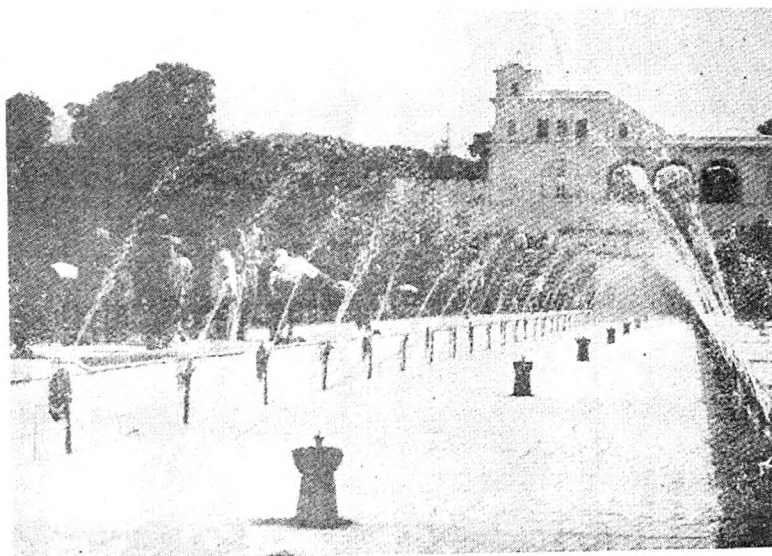


PLATE NO. – 2



PLATE NO. – 3

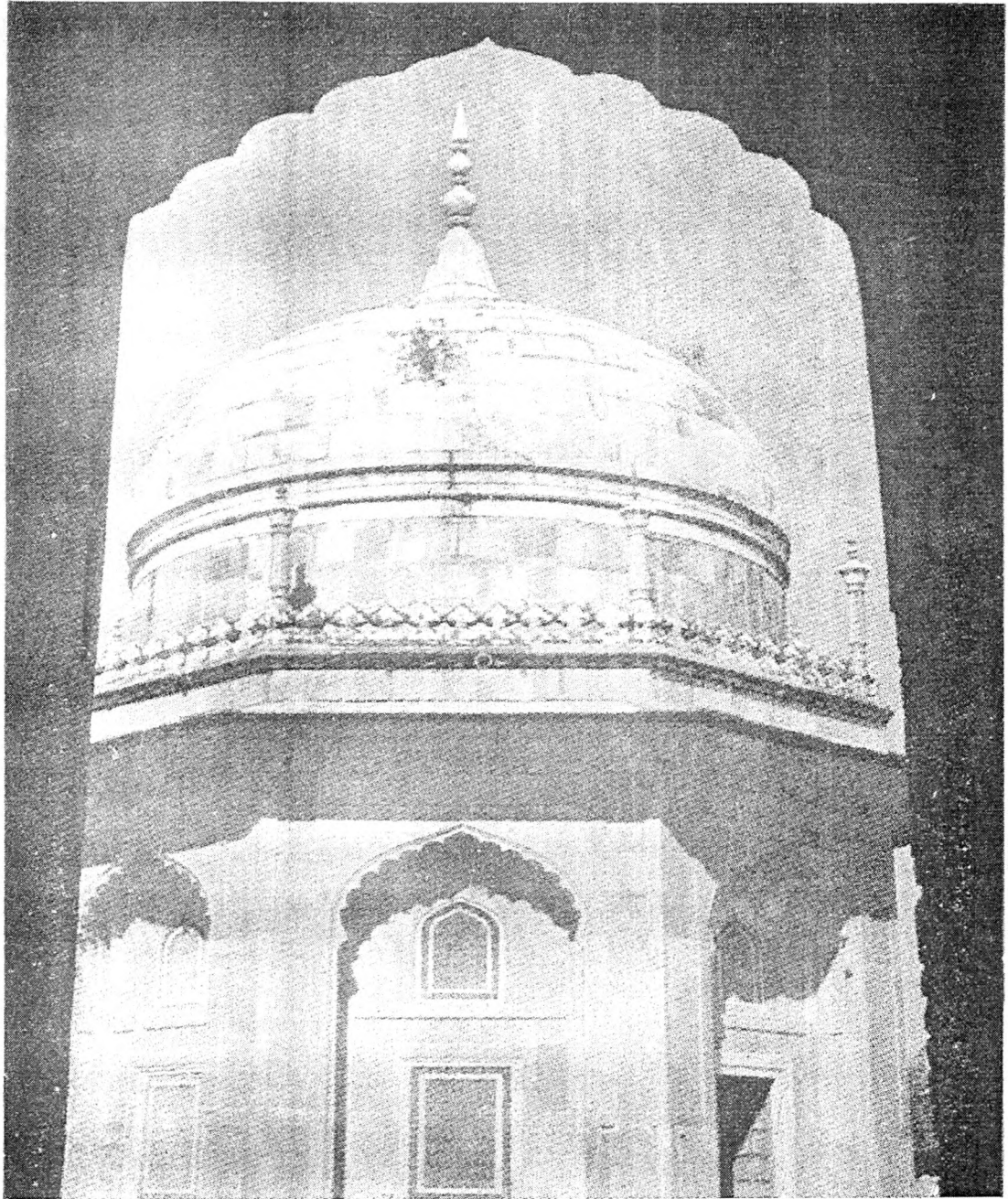


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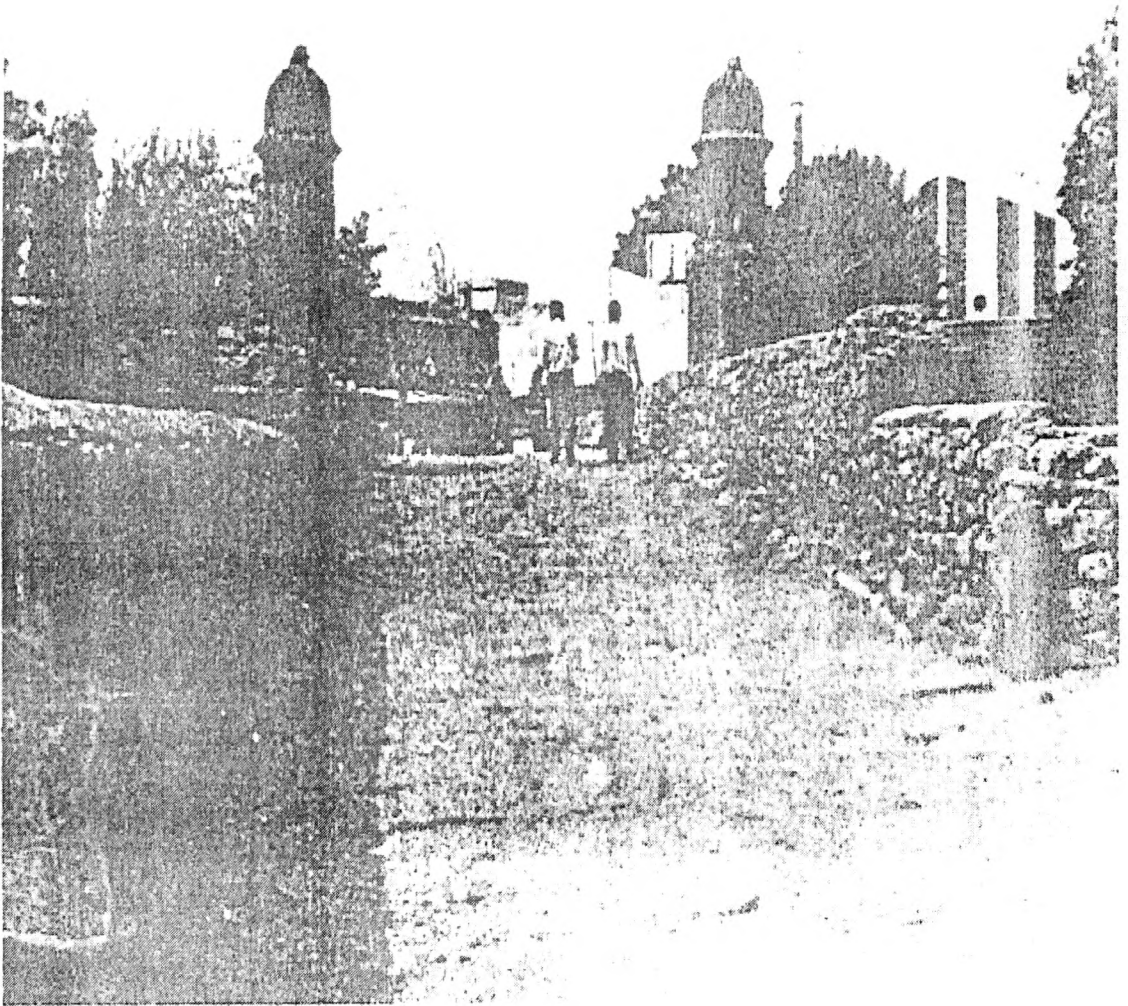


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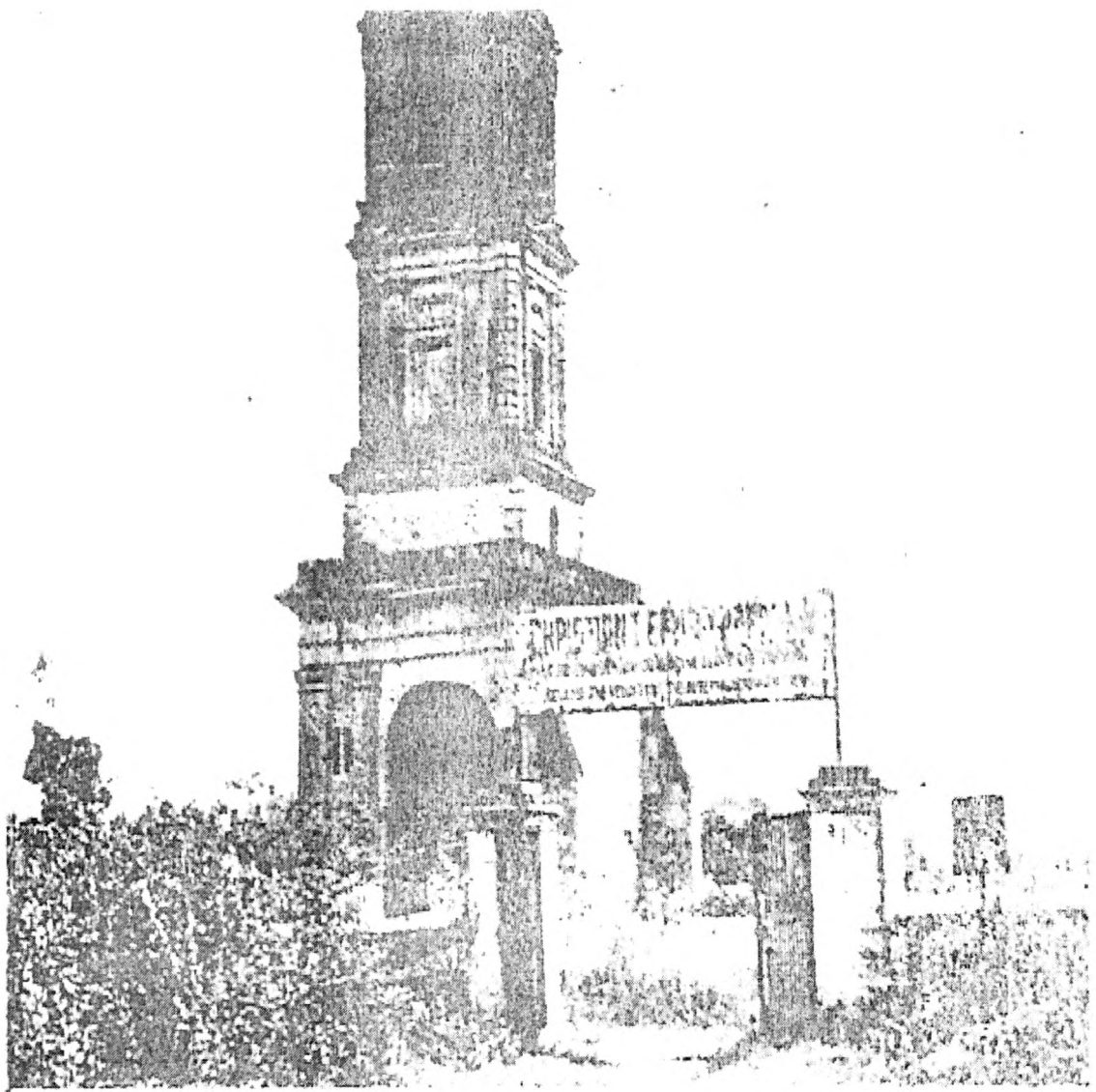


PLATE NO. – 6



PLATE NO. - 7

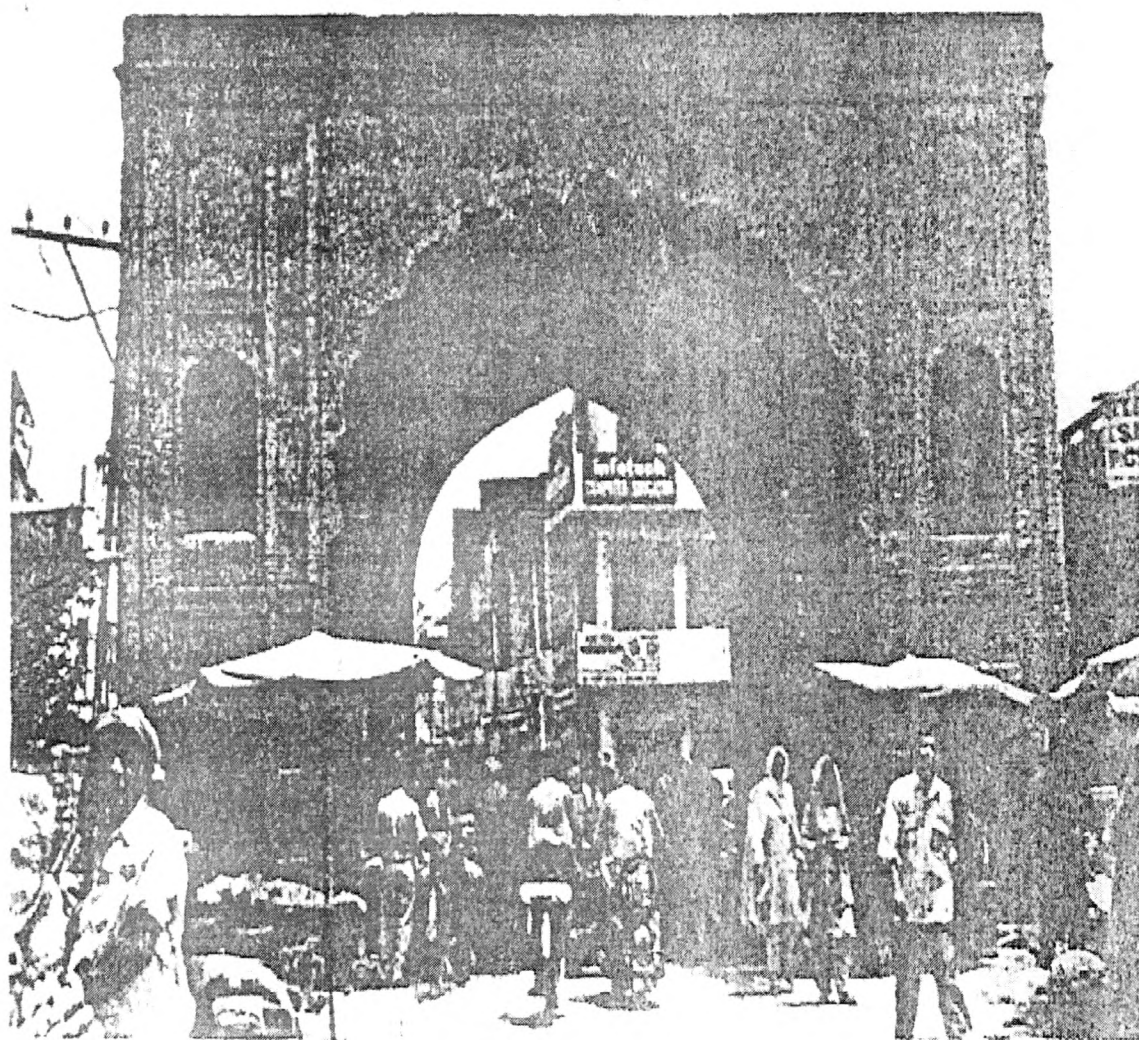


PLATE NO. - 8



PLATE NO. – 9



PLATE NO. – 10

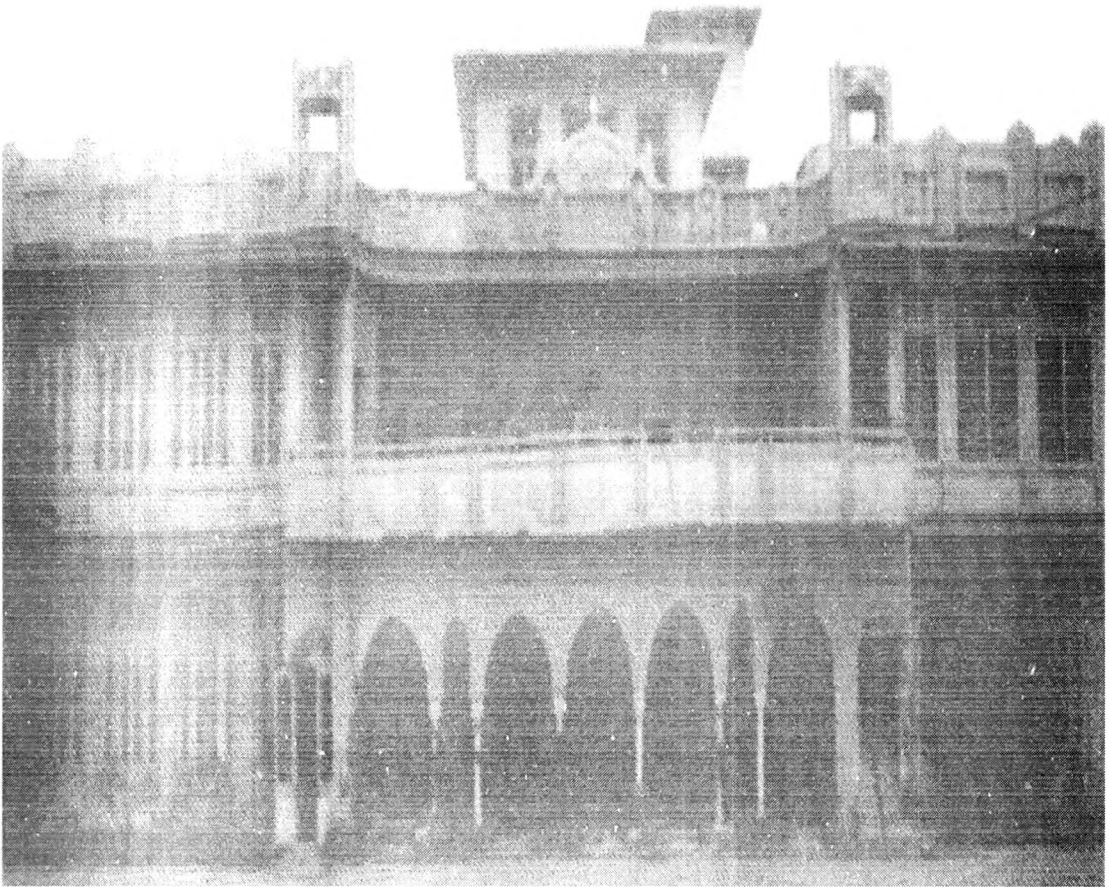


PLATE NO. – 11



PLATE NO. – 12

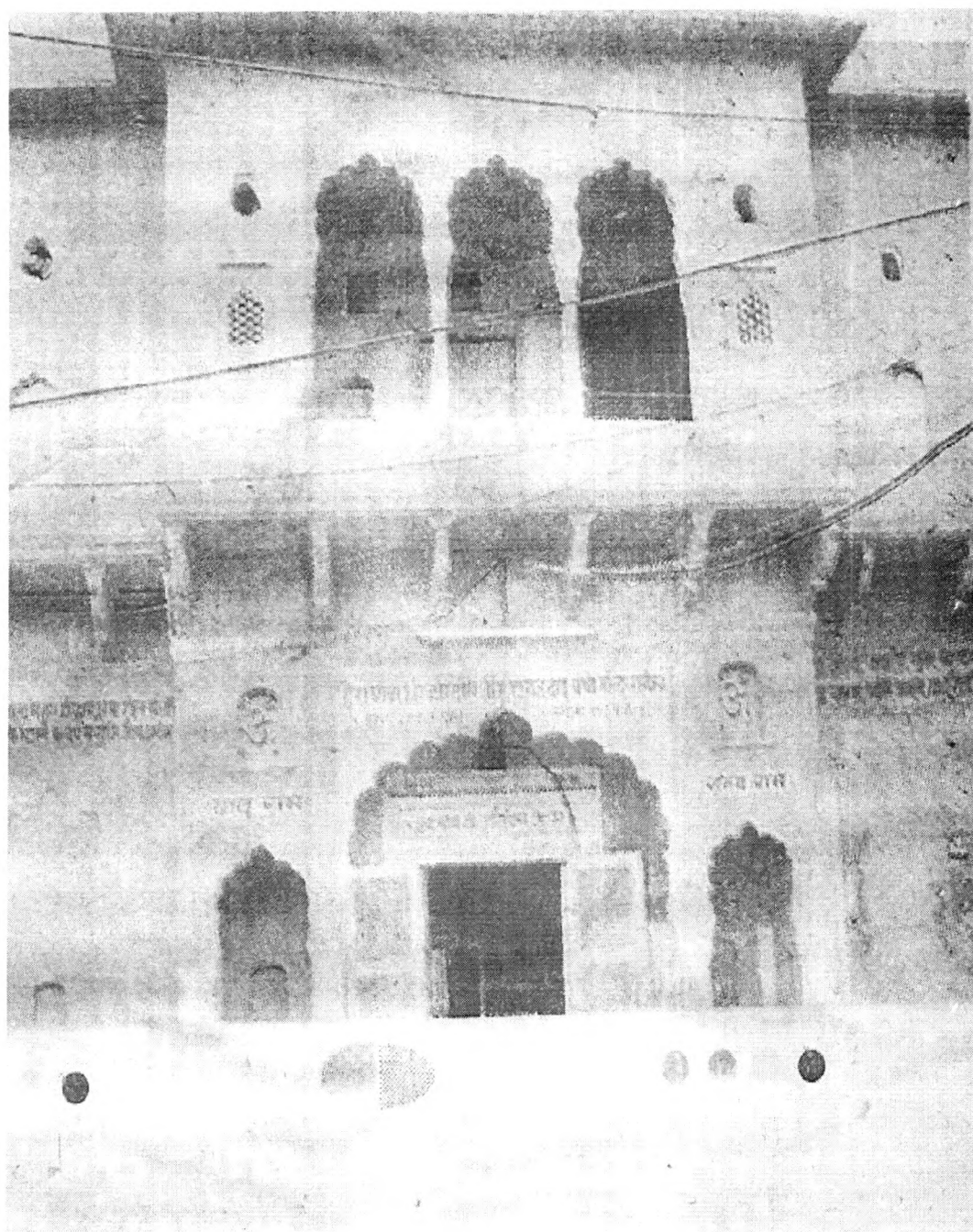


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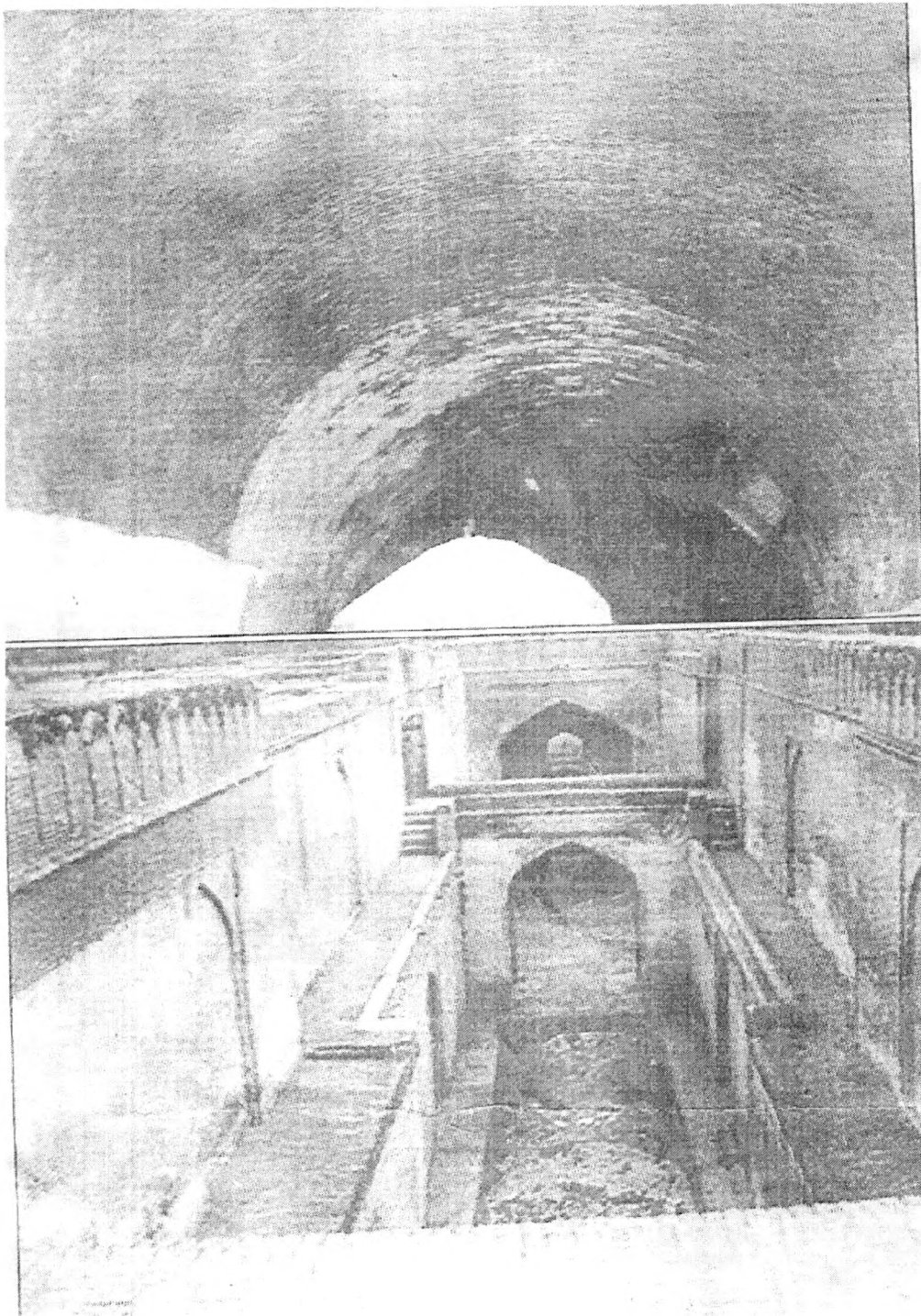


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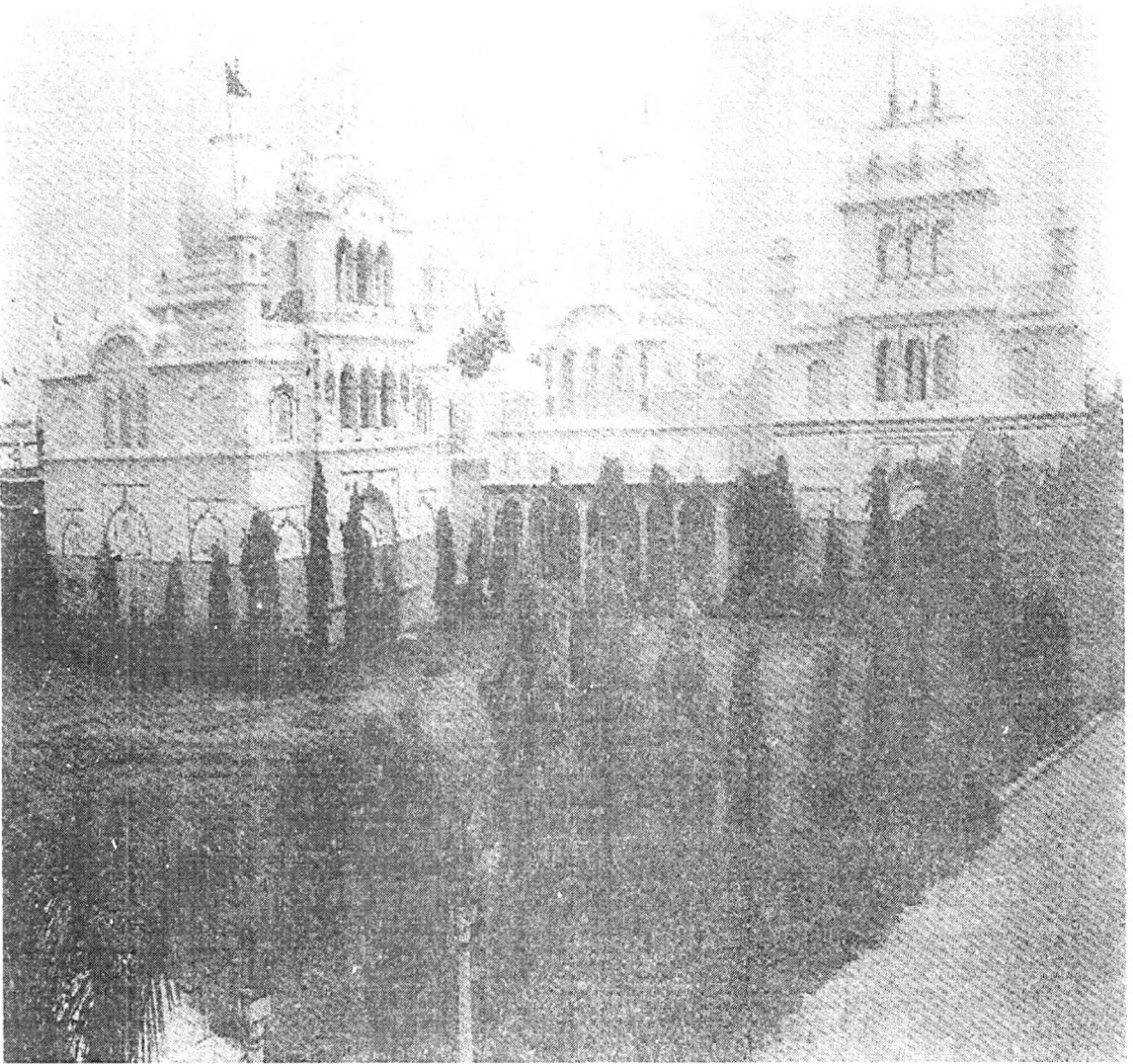


PLATE NO. – 15



PLATE NO. – 16

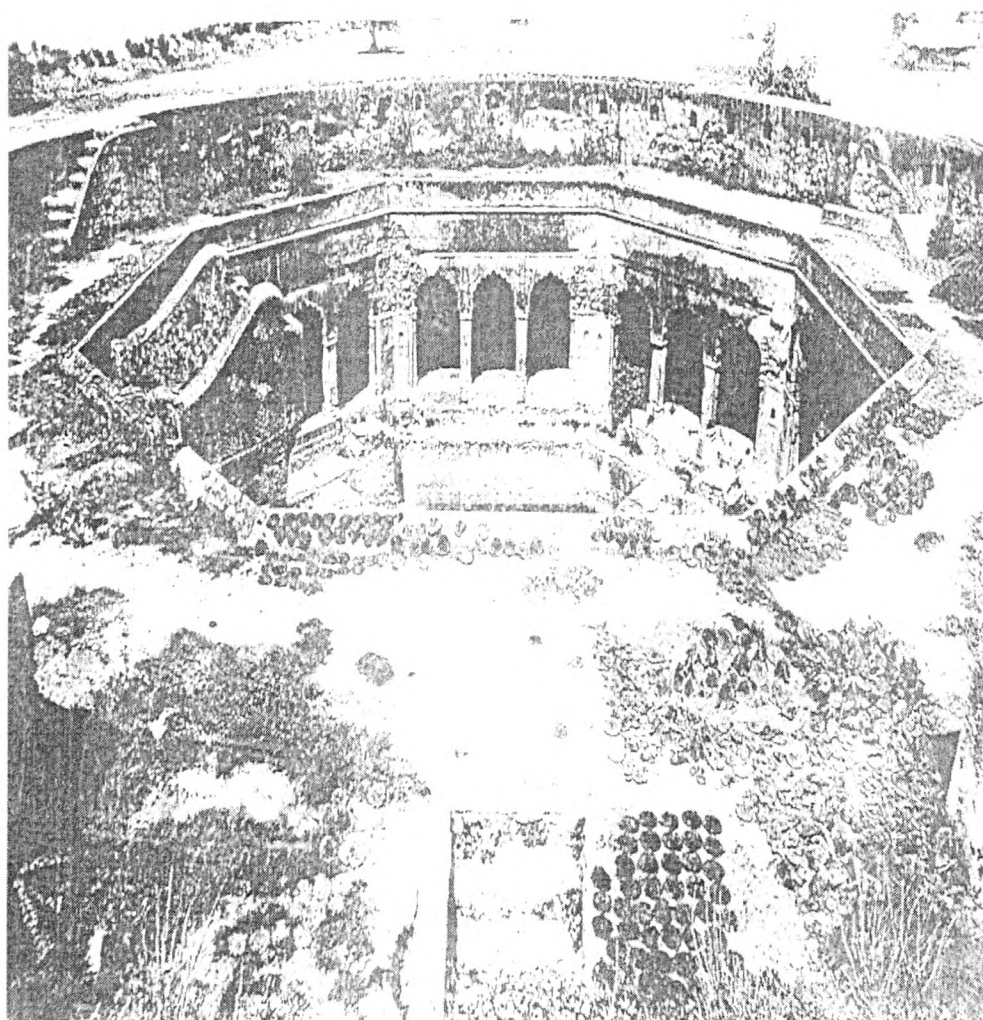


PLATE NO. – 17



PLATE NO. - 18



PLATE NO. – 19

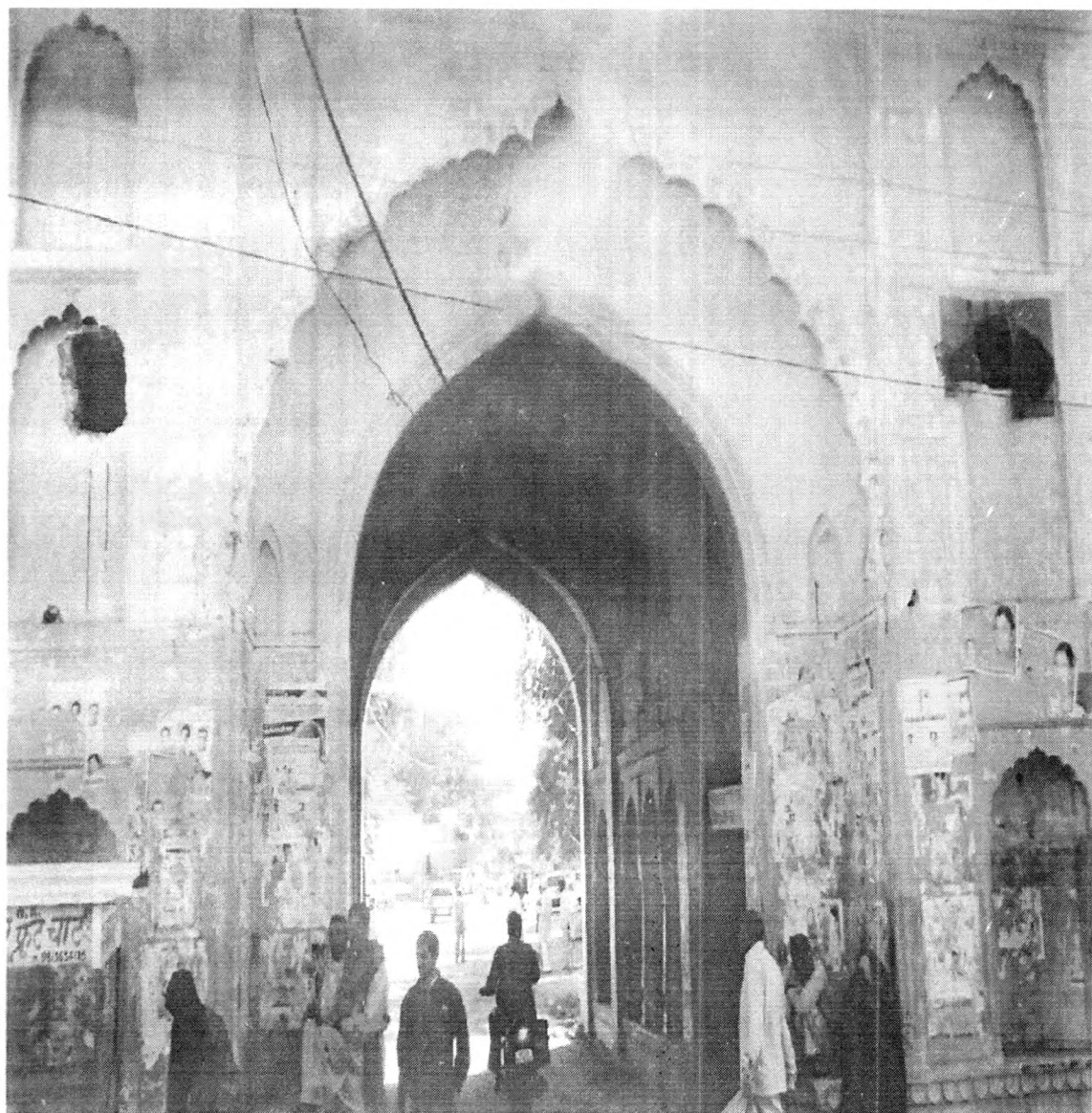
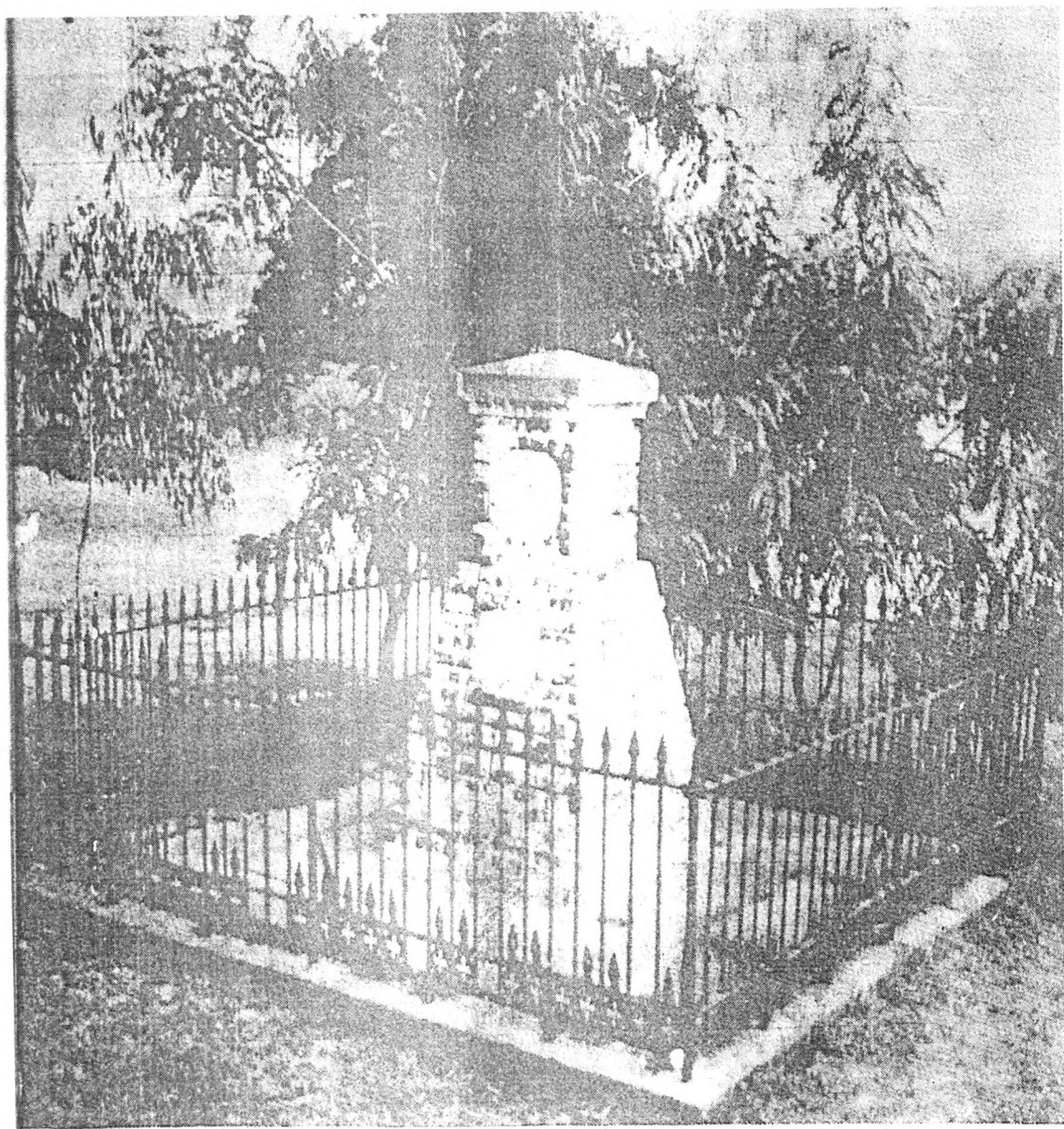


PLATE NO. -20



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